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ABSTRACT

This history depicts Oakland Community College (OCC) in Michigan as a microcosm of the dramatic events of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Four primary sources were used: the personal experiences of the author who worked at the college during this time; extensive interviews with staff, faculty, administrators, and students; newspaper accounts; and a survey of all staff who worked at OCC during the decade between 1965 and 1975. The history focuses not only on OCC as an educational institution reflecting national trends, but also on several features unique to OCC as a two-year institution, including OCC's curriculum and mission dedicated to innovative educational practices; intense student rebellion including anti-war demonstrations and drug experimentation; and faculty strikes. Following a preface profiling the college at its inception, the following 12 chapters are presented: (1) The Birth of a Community College; (2) The 60's and 70's: A Condensed View; (3) Two Presidents and Two Dreams; (4) Joe Hill's Dream for the College; (5) Community College Students: A Not-So-Different Breed; (6) Money, Black Demands, and White Bombs; (7) Black Power Comes to the Suburbs; (8) White Bombs Meant for General Motors; (9) Student Newspapers and Freedom of the Press; (10) Professors Who Gladly Teach; (11) Case Study: From Professor to Federal District Court; and (12) Faculty Power and the Anatomy of a Strike. In addition, profiles are presented of the new college, the new counselor, the new dean, and seven days in the life of the dean. Illustrations, a 34-item bibliography, and an index are included. (JMC)

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THE DELICIOUS DECADE

1965-1975
A Social History of a Community College

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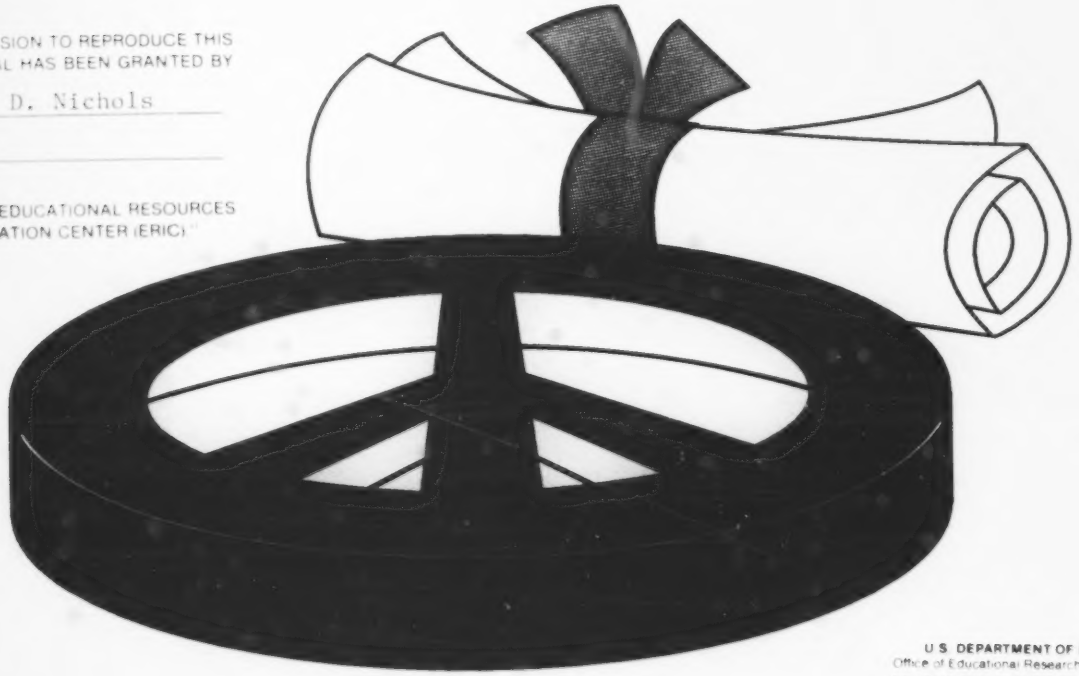

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DONALD D. NICHOLS

THE DELIRIOUS DECADE

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A Social History of a Community College

DONALD D. NICHOLS

Illustrated by
Kevin G. Nichols

Best wishes,
Donald D. Nichols

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DEDICATION

To my parents: Estel and Lela

To my family: Alice, Kevin, and Tim

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Hundreds of people contributed to this book by responding to survey forms and by agreeing to be interviewed. College presidents, members of the College's board of trustees, students, faculty, and staff were open and candid in recalling events, some of which were combinations of an era's excitement and unpleasant memories. They helped to tell the personal side of a college's story in the context of a significant and dynamic 10-year period. This book could not have been written without the input of these people and to each I am sincerely grateful.

Several colleagues read individual chapters and a few analyzed the entire manuscript. Among them were: Curtis Anderson, Bill Stuart, Jim Bradner, George Cartsonis, Ed Valsi, Larry Wasser, Jim Orr, and Tom Trudell. My good friend, Lee Peel, spent many hours proofreading and offering valuable suggestions.

Cover design and art work were done by Alice and Kevin Nichols who also provided critical comments and continual encouragement. Excellent secretarial advice was provided by Leawann Coles, Robin Evans, Nancy Gross, Berna Holmes, Alicia Jackson, and Cynthia Mickey.

Completion of this writing task would not have been possible without the sabbatical support provided by the Board of Trustees of Oakland Community College.

Each writer hopes to make some contribution to knowledge knowing full well that one's audience is uncertain. Thoreau noted that his library of 500 texts consisted mostly of copies of his own works. Will Durant tells us that Schopenhauer's masterpiece, THE WORLD AS WILL AND IDEA, attracted hardly any attention: "Sixteen years after publication Schopenhauer was informed that the greater part of the edition had been sold as waste paper."

I do not wish to be a part of this good company.

DDN
Farmington, Michigan
1990

PREFACE

Among the innumerable products of the 1960s and 1970s in U.S. history was a plethora of adjectives attempting to describe these decades. It appears that various writers have exhausted the most expressive or catchy labels in trying to capture the essence of a unique period in history. After considerable search I have selected DELIRIOUS to reflect those activities which became social forces in the wider community and which impacted on higher education and ultimately on the two-year college. Delirious speaks to the heated conditions of this era and indicates a possibility of contagion. This word can have positive and negative connotations, and the decade's events covered herein reflect these extremes.

The decade of 1965-1975 was one of monumental changes in the United States and these alterations were reflected in the nation's colleges and universities. The open-door to higher education became a reality, women and older citizens flocked to new educational opportunities, black Americans challenged all schools to fulfill promises made during the civil rights era, and a few institutions attempted large-scale innovations in seeking new and better ways to teach and learn.

This history attempts to show that Oakland Community College in Michigan was a microcosm of this decade's dramatic events. Opening in September, 1965 with 3,800 students, Oakland grew to 18,876 by 1975. The student body reflected the diversity of student types that were at the time only trickling into senior institutions, and were of greater interest to universities than to community colleges during the next decade because of dwindling enrollments. In addition to displaying various national trends, especially at two-year colleges, and characteristics of this decade, Oakland's story includes several unique features.

* At its opening Oakland's curriculum and mission were totally dedicated to innovative educational practices. Faculty members were hired, students were recruited, and counselors gave advice on classes and programs that would be presented under the aegis of an audio-tutorial model of instruction designed by the founding President using ideas perfected by Dr. Samuel Postlethwait at Purdue University. In addition, the architectural design of two remodeled and one new campus costing several millions was inextricably tied to the experimental mode of instruction. A second major innovation at Oakland in the form of the Educational Sciences supplanted the earlier experimentation. Several interesting parallels emerged in the creation, implementation, and eventual demise of both attempts to bring educational change and improvement.

* Oakland's founding chief executive took bold steps to effectively open a new college with the latent desire to make an impact on the immediate realm of higher education and, in a broader way, on all of education. In a similar fashion, but with a different strategy, the College's second President sought the same goal. Both men used similar means to formulate, garner support for, and execute a change model for the College, and both appear to have possessed a hidden agenda in their plans. As the two are described, readers may ponder the "cult of personality" that comes to mind when those with vast power dominate an entire, multi-campus institution.

* During the 1960s Oakland was one of the few community colleges to experience intense student rebellion: anti-war demonstrations and drug experimentation were coupled with a race riot precipitated by black student demands. This turbulence was highlighted by the bombing of a biology laboratory by outside agitators. In the midst of this chaos a serious battle over freedom of the press occurred between student writers and the College Trustees.

* Because Michigan was one of the first states to permit collective bargaining for teachers, it was also one of the first to experience faculty strikes and the withholding of professors' services. Oakland's faculty took this decisive action during the decade being described. And, since administrators arise from the faculty ranks, the case is given of one professor who moved to the administration and then had to go to Federal District court in order to return to the faculty.

Seen from the perspective of a participant-observer, these events are given a significant veneer of detail because of the personal involvement of the writer. I have inserted some personal descriptions of the new college and depictions of my work as counselor, director, and dean during this unusual decade. These portions of the book will stand as asides to remind the reader of my involvement in the events described.

In creating this history, heavy emphasis was placed on newspaper accounts and survey forms which were sent to all staff who worked at Oakland during the decade. The writer conducted interviews with most of the people who played major roles, and valuable documents from the Trustees' and Presidents' files were used.

Because of new confidentiality rules, some staff files were not released by the College's Personnel Office. In a few cases, persons who played significant roles in this history chose not to be interviewed so the written record was compiled from personal correspondence and newspaper accounts.

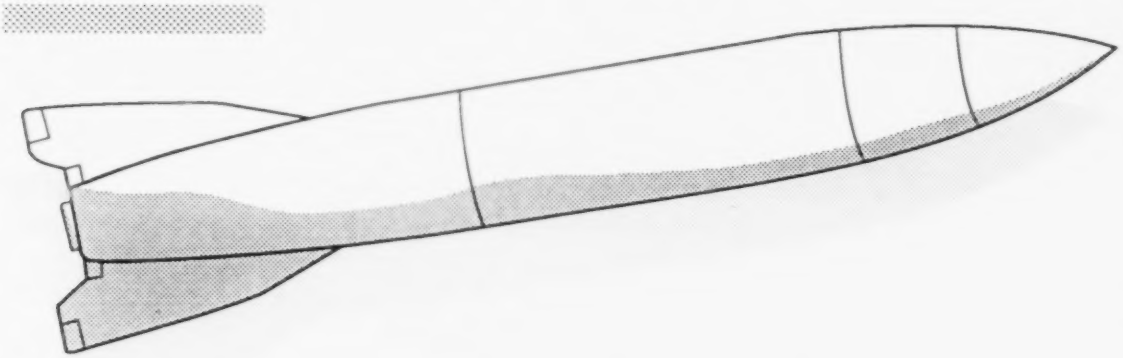
Each social historian will display some personal bias in the selection of materials, incidents, and quotations but will be guided by the forces of accuracy and fairness. Oscar Wilde wrote: "Every great man has his disciples, and it is always Judas who writes the biography." In the following pages I have attempted to avoid this pejorative label and to concentrate more appropriately on Voltaire's admonition: "Dulce est desipere in loco---Woe to philosophers who can't laugh away their wrinkles."

Donald D. Nichols
1990

PROFILE: THE NEW COLLEGE

Shards of early morning sunlight cut through the pine trees of southeastern Michigan's rolling hills as Spring began to change the landscape. In the midst of pristine, blue lakes and green acres, a lonely caretaker went about his work at a State facility, now abandoned. Red-brick buildings dotted the 158 acres of the finely-manicured grounds which won landscape awards for creative beauty. Built in 1927, this facility at one time housed 210 patients when a once-dreaded disease ravaged the Midwest. In the 1920s tuberculosis was a disease that attacked both young and old and a cure was unknown. It was believed that cold, fresh air, and lots of it, was the best treatment. This place was the Michigan T.B. Sanitorium, now deserted because of successful disease control. Who would have guessed that rooms for the sick would soon become rooms dedicated to training medical technicians, dental hygienists, and nurses?

This place would become a college.



A slowly-moving elevator descended the 300 feet into a Nike missile silo in Northern Oakland County as the sergeant made the final inspection of the hardware and technical data systems. With one twist of a switch, thousands of pounds of weapons could blast from these depths to pursue and strike alien missiles streaking across the northern borders of the United States. But, in an era of deterrence, no Nike missiles had been fired and the sergeant's work remained preventative. Built in 1952 by the U.S. military, this 247-acre base housed 65 personnel with a killing firepower of massive capability. As military strategy changed over time with disarmament becoming more popular, the staff and materiel became expendable and the uniformed brass moved on to more sophisticated technology. When the sergeant stopped the silo elevator for the final time, the only Nikes remaining would be those on the backs of collegiate basketball jerseys for...

This place, too, would become a college.

Fifteen miles southwest of the Nike base, a farmer drove his apple-laden tractor through a 175-acre orchard bringing in the last harvest. To the south and east, suburban sprawl had made inroads into this farm community and the new expressway on the north end of the orchard was a harbinger of new construction. The farm was no longer profitable, and real estate agents were making hard-to-resist lucrative offers. Like innumerable farmers before him, the right offer had been more important than the delicious apples; a business-like decision would brings saws and bulldozers to the undulating landscape. On this spot buildings would grow and young people wearing farm denims would soon appear. The apple business would soon turn to an "APPLE-MACINTOSH" business to serve an insatiable computer-age economy for...

This place would become a college.

The supermarket was crammed with Friday afternoon shoppers pushing toward busy check-out lanes. In the din of cash registers and calls for price-checks, one heard the silent voices of grocery-store spirits calling to each other: "This is our last rush... check-out time is really here...This is our last rush."

Located in the central business district of an old and decaying city, the market was in need of renovation and renewal. It was symptomatic of its home city. Upward-mobility folks were passing through the area on their way to the more elegant outer suburbs. After years of bickering, city fathers had made a commitment to urban renewal in an effort to revitalize Main Street. Even the market was targeted by the city planners. And, as they say in the military, targeted and destroyed. But, like a phoenix to rise again because...

This place, too, would become a college!

1

The Birth of a Community College

No feature of the community college has more essential implications that its policy of open-door admissions. The hinges in doors are like hidden conditions upon which everything turns; they're like the small print in contracts---a door depends on its hinges. Edmund Gleazer

In 1965, few citizens in southeastern Michigan believed that these locations---a sanitorium, a military base, a quiet orchard, and a former grocery story---would evolve within two decades into a public community college in Oakland County enrolling almost 30,000 students. However, those familiar with the history of two-year institutions would not be surprised. The 60s was an era of social transformation and experimentation, and it was certainly the time for these "new" colleges. With appropriate pride, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) would boast that during the early 60s a new college would open somewhere in the United States every week! And, they would be housed in all kinds of facilities: abandoned churches, old high schools, inner city store fronts, vacant government buildings, wherever inexpensive, accessible space was available. This unprecedented birth rate of new colleges knew no parallel in history. A peculiarly American invention, the two-year institutions have a short history when compared with the great Medieval universities of Western Europe.

Beginning in the early 20th century, they are young even when compared to prestigious Harvard and Yale. National growth of these colleges during the decade being described was quite remarkable:

YEAR	NUMBER OF COLLEGES	OPENING FALL ENROLLMENT
1965	771	1,292,236
1970	1,091	2,499,837
1975	1,230	4,069,279

The year 1970 marked the first time that 50 percent of all freshmen in higher education were community college enrollees. As "open door" institutions these colleges admitted any adult who had a possibility of completing one of the many vocational/technical, transfer, or developmental programs. An extension of the "junior" colleges which offered the first two years of senior institution curricula, these exuberant learning places attempted to be all things to all people. Many of the new institutions were created as "opportunity colleges" in response to the 1947 Truman Commission Report. The proposal of the Commission was that all barriers to educational opportunity should be abolished immediately. Every American should be enabled and encouraged to carry his education,

formal and informal, as far as native capacity permitted. Historian James E. Russell supported this position by identifying the problem of insufficient education as a cancer eating at the heart of the nation; it was a problem of our own underdeveloped populace.

A main concern of the community college early on was people-development. Some saw the open-door admissions philosophy in pejorative terms---"only chance college, last chance college, etc."---but those in the movement saw it as a means to acquiring untapped human resources for the country. The mass of research done in the 1950s, culminating in Nevitt Sanford's THE AMERICAN COLLEGE (1962), was tellingly summarized in the introduction: "American colleges are failing rather badly. They fail to achieve their own stated purposes; and they fail by other reasonable standards of accomplishment." HARPER'S magazine asked at that time, "How Good Are the Junior Colleges?" and concluded that a primary criterion---getting people to their desired destination---was still incomplete. Doubting that the institutions would want to be tested on the validity of a question of maximum success, the writer concluded that part of the problem was the student body:

> Too small a percent of those who climb aboard the new vehicle actually reach their destination. Too many have no clear notion of what their destination is and too many others fall by the wayside. For all its promise, for all the devotion and enthusiasm of its drivers, the vehicle is in many respects still in the Model T stage of its development, going down the educational superhighway hell bent for leather.

It would be appropriate to say that Oakland jumped into the educational fray "hell-bent for leather" because it sought to improve higher education, as well as individual opportunity, by being completely experimental and innovative across the entire institution. Destined to play a pivotal role in innovational attempts to retard the calcification of colleges, Oakland limped into existence in June, 1963. Its birth was somewhat aborted, however, when the district's voters failed to provide the lifeblood of any innovation---money. In a somewhat schizophrenic display, the ratepayers voted to establish a college but defeated a millage to pay the costs. Following another year's campaign by a citizens' committee, a one-mill levy was approved, but by the narrowest of margins, 259 votes (20,361 to 20,102), and a six-member board of trustees was elected. Later expanded to seven members, the Board was elected by residents of the district for alternate six-year terms. Setting policy for the new college, the Board hired a group of administrators to implement the policies and operate the institution. Serving without compensation, their expected monthly meetings soon multiplied into weekly sessions of a public or private nature, often with lofty goals. In planning buildings for Oakland's new campuses, Trustee George Mosher entreated his

colleagues: "We don't want our students to think they're attending a trade school; we want buildings that students can be proud of." The college was to serve an area of 900 square miles, soon to be occupied by almost a million people, some of whom were tied to the riches of General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford Motor Company. When Oakland was being planned there were only 10 multi-campus districts in six different States. Five years later, this type of institution had burgeoned to 44, indicative of the growth of metropolitan or urban districts.

Indeed, 1965 was a propitious year for starting a new college: increasing high school enrollments provided a natural student pool to fill classrooms (the district included 34 public and 18 private high schools), and an appeal to adult students of all ages would ensure numbers beyond expectations. But 1965 had an ominous quality about it also: traditional values were being questioned as no longer appropriate; new drugs were being experimented with as were new sexual mores; the civil rights movement was heating urban America into inevitable conflagration two years hence; and the spectre of military buildup in far-off Southeast Asia would be a harbinger for impending campus anti-war demonstrations.

To better understand what community colleges are all about, and to get a perspective on Oakland and its campuses (Auburn Hills, Highland Lakes, Orchard Ridge, and Southeast), a review of the developments in the history of higher education in America is in order. Because community colleges have a vision for what can be accomplished, and dedication to the concept of universal higher education, it is fitting that Everyman guides us through the chronicle of the nation's colleges and universities. Personifying dedication, determination, and hope, the allegorical Everyman is an appropriate symbol for the mission of two-year institutions, and can identify those landmark forces in history that impacted upon these new kinds of colleges.

Some Distinguishing Features of American Higher Education

From the bell towers of academe, an Everyman of higher education in 1965 could survey a landscape replete with an array of institutional types attempting to meet the needs of their constituencies. Most are resplendent in success, others are striving to emulate the best, and a few are struggling for survival. Collectively, American institutions of high education had helped move the nation to it preeminent position in world history. Everyman could ponder the words of Clark Kerr:

> The general test of higher education is not how much is done poorly, and some is; rather it is how much is done superbly, and a great deal is, to the nation's great benefit.

Visitors from foreign lands were usually overwhelmed by the kaleidoscopic array of colleges and universities dotting the American landscape. In what might be seen as a "confusion of institutions" Everyman could show them colleges for the rich and colleges for the upwardly mobile; colleges for the vocationally-oriented men and colleges for the intellectually-and-socially-oriented women; colleges for Catholics and colleges for Protestants; colleges for Negroes and colleges for rebellious whites. Considering the plethora of campus disturbances of the late 60s and early 70s, this last classification seems redundant. By 1970, Everyman could view a striking diversity of institutions: the United States supported over 2,500 institutions of higher education ranging from pristine universities, through land-grant colleges, liberal arts campuses, technical institutes, and "Bible" colleges to burgeoning community colleges. Such pluralism in the educational system matched the pluralism in the larger society and could be defended on the basis of encouraging innovation and access. A multiplicity of institutional types promoted dynamism which produced new models for emulation.

One could argue that this variety also pinpoints a reality that education reflects the country's status system which evolved with the Colonial period and was epitomized by early colleges which attempted to copy their English counterparts. Responding to the need for religious leaders, Harvard was an early prototype but it should be noted that this founding institution was never just a seminary. Students entering the 1636 charter class were expected to be well-prepared:

> When any Schollar is able to understand TULLY, or such like classicall Latine Author extempore, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, suo ut aiunt Marte; And decline perfectly the Paridigm's of Nounes and Verbes in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission to the Colledge.

Historian Richard Hofstadter reminds us that the "stated purposes of other early institutions, as expressed in their charter, also included references to liberal education and the service of the public." Still, these colleges, dominated by a land-commerce aristocracy, trained an elite for community leadership and subscribed to certain fundamental policies without important change for nearly 200 years. This latter comment is not meant to be negative: these institutions provided that which was required while the masses went about conquering the frontier. At that point in time, it could be said that colleges had long been a necessity for society, but they had not yet become a necessity for the people. An increasing amount of interaction between colleges and the larger public occurred by the middle of the 18th century with inter-denominational interest and the rise of secularization. Concurrently, changes were slowly beginning to alter the curriculum to accommodate the rise of science and to

furnish training in the secular professions.

The coming of the 19th century brought a fantastic splurge of new colleges resulting from denominational sponsorship and sectarian rivalry. Before the Civil War, over 500 colleges were founded, which caused one writer to comment "Colleges rise up like mushrooms in our luxuriant soil." This scattering of institutions across the land, in diaspora fashion, was a response to local needs precipitated by problems of travel and costs of attending distant campuses. Admittedly, many third-rate colleges were founded as the statistics on their demise readily showed. While there were many higher education opportunities, the total population on campus was quite small, with the institutions themselves helping to keep people away. The curriculum was not the sort that appealed to men of practical inclination with its heavy emphasis on Latin and other non-utilitarian topics. The costs required available cash, something which people of the middle and lower class did not have. But with the development of a more open society during these early generations and with the coming of greater social, political, and geographical mobility---a product of Jacksonian democracy---the inherited educational system was challenged on several fronts. Jefferson's creation of the University of Virginia, with attempts to enlarge the curriculum and to aim for excellence, is one example. Inroads were gradually made into the general irrelevancy of the numerous institutions that dotted the landscape: women's colleges appeared in the South, co-education arose at Oberlin in 1833, and technical schools provided competition forcing reluctant institutions to yield. Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, called for reforms which would include courses useful for "merchants, manufacturers, and farmers." Even Yale and Harvard established "scientific schools" in 1847 to satisfy the public demands for a broader curriculum.

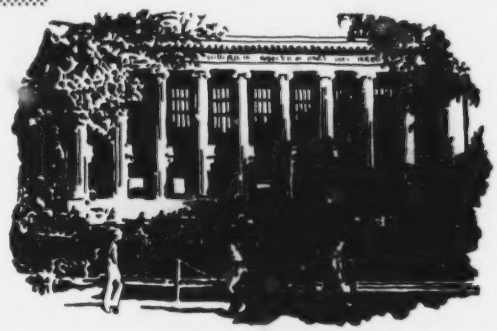
With the growth of nationalism and the pride of statehood, several states moved to establish public universities. Before 1860, Everyman could identify 20 states which had accomplished this task, with Virginia and Michigan making struggling attempts at respectability. Most of these creations were universities in name only and were still patronized chiefly by the sons of the wealthy. Michigan's Henry Tappan lamented in 1851 that "we have no university." A succession of events in the next four decades, however, would usher in a vibrant American university. Between 1865 and 1900, this type of institution was part of a revolution that produced new academic goals, and we find among these the explicit aspiration to serve the whole community.

With the appearance of the land-grant institution, higher education moved from the realms of the colonial cognoscenti onto a pathway leading inexorably to the education of Everyman and his extended family. In 1862 Congress passed the Morrill Act which gave substantial land grants to the states for the creation of agricultural and mechanical colleges. This landmark Act

accelerated the state university movement and served as a demarcation line between the older higher education movement and the new. In addition, the Act provided another example of the evolving nature of the system, and highlighted the fact that outside influences, in this case the political sphere, will bring change to the academic community when the need is great. Propelled by a quickening industrial economy that required technical skills, these new institutions elevated programs in the applied sciences to a recognized place in the curriculum. The stood pre-eminently for the principle, increasingly so important in the middle of the 20th century, that every American citizen is entitled to receive some form of higher education.*

The Idea of Service to Society

One of the principle functions of community colleges is that of "community services," a concept borrowed from senior institutions located at great distances from their supporting publics. Effective interaction between higher education and society is epitomized by four main developments that occurred between 1868 and 1932. Emanating from efforts to broaden the curriculum and culminating with the belief in "service," these developments represent key milestones. The first of these, the "Cornell Plan" resulted from President Andrew White's attempt to bring an all-purpose curriculum to the University during the post-Civil War period. Said White: "I would found an institution in which any person can find instruction in any study." This widening of choices was among several steps taken to adapt American university structure to the society and its requirements.



With the coming of the 20th century, land grant universities began extending their activities beyond their campus boundaries, thus leading to a second major development. From the "Wisconsin Idea" arose a rich heritage of the university in faithful service to the needs of its community. Stimulated by the tenets of Progressivism, the Wisconsin Idea was a product of innumerable attempts over the previous eight decades to capitalize on the ameliorating powers of education. The service ideal was made declarative by President Van Hise of Wisconsin who said that the expertise of the

** Although not everyone would agree with this goal. In a 1969 cover story, SATURDAY REVIEW would ask "Will Everyman Destroy the University?" in questioning the wisdom of open admissions.

university would be taken to the public whether they wanted it or not! Important by-products of this stance were the entry of the expert into government and the extension movement. The Wisconsin examples of comprehensive involvement provided models for emulation, and it is to this same principle of service that community colleges would be committed.

A third example comes from the State of Minnesota where President James Folwell, a contemporary of Cornell's White, laid the groundwork for a university with a broad curriculum and a strong public service orientation. Catering to low-quality, poorly-motivated students, Minnesota's General College opened in 1932 and offered a two-year program in general education with emphasis on life adjustment and some cultural themes, and by 1939 was enrolling over 1,100 students a year. General College "represented the state university's obligation to society at large; it underwrote the American commitment to the idea that in democratic America there are no failures."

Like the Experimental College, which opened at the University of Wisconsin two years earlier, General College failed to have overwhelming success, but it did show the flexibility of the university in accommodating those previously considered unacceptable. By this time land grant institutions and most state universities were making extensive offerings available to a broad range of students. And the junior college movement, the final development in extending service to society, began to offer two years of post-secondary education to a sizable portion of the nation's youth.

The Junior-Community College Contribution

Claiming a history that dates to the mid-19th century, the two-year institution provided a model for judging the merit of opening wider the doors of the university, and its kinship with the land-grant idea was paramount. To William Rainey Harper, who became the president of the University of Chicago in 1892, goes the credit for giving the "junior college" idea respectability. Among other university presidents of the period who favored separating upper and lower divisions of preparation, Harper divided Chicago into "junior" and "senior" colleges and awarded the Associate Degree after the first two years.

The evolving nature of higher education in general is mirrored by the evolution of the two-year college movement. Three key periods can be identified:

Junior College Phase - From the establishment of Illinois' Joliet College in 1902 to the Twenties, many communities added a 13th and 14th grade to accommodate rising numbers of high school graduates. During this period, public junior colleges began to compete with private institutions with California taking the lead in providing state assistance and a comprehensive plan. Following these two years of preparation, students could then transfer to the senior institutions.

Technical-Vocational Phase - From the Twenties to 1945, the concept of semi-professional and "terminal" education was added to the curriculum. In response to the training requirements of the Depression period and the technical needs of World War II, a host of specialized curricula were designed to provide students for a specific career at the end of two years.

Community Services Phase - From 1945 to the present, Harper's "junior college" evolved into a "community college" possessing these important functions: transfer programs, career programs, guidance and counseling, and community services. The major role that this movement played by 1970 is emphasized by statistics: The American Association of Junior Colleges listed an enrollment of over 2,000,000 students in 1,000 two-year institutions ranging from private to public, single school to county-wide districts. And, it was this period which produced the novel "open door" admissions policy soon gaining wide prominence. These new community colleges were unique because of their commitment to "community" and the "open door," the records of their transfer students, and their guidance and counseling function with particular reference to what has been called the "salvage" function.

In this historical walk through the pages of college and university accomplishments, Everyman would be accused of a serious omission if he failed to recognize the vast role of the Federal government in this chronicle. Beginning with the land-grant legislation, Washington has exerted pressure on higher education to make changes in structure and purpose. In a rather circuitous fashion, grass roots movements have employed the political process to promote interaction and an awareness of public expectations.

Starting with huge investments in university research during World War II, actions by the Federal government have stimulated college and university growth, and designed ways to assist in coping with campus needs and off-campus problems. One staggering impact can be seen in money and numbers: with the G.I. Bill, Federally-assisted veterans were paying 65 percent of all undergraduate fees by 1948. In addition to the economics of growth, the Federal government was instrumental in accentuating

public attitudes toward education in general. In 1947, the Truman Commission estimated that 49 percent of the population possessed the requisite mental ability to complete 14 years of formal education and recommended expansion of opportunities. Ten years later, the President's Commission on Education Beyond the High School urged more Federal involvement, and the National Defense Education Act of 1958, with its broad provisions for student aid, presaged abundant legislation from Washington. This committee also concluded that a valuable resource of talented youngsters was being denied further education because of lack of proper guidance, financial resources, and discriminatory barriers. Various state and Federal programs would be designed to ameliorate these problems with the infusion of grants to improve secondary schools, provide remedial programs at the college level, and programs of aid for needy students.

A final example of Washington's impact can be cited: beginning with the military requirements of the Second World War, government-sponsored research on the campus boomed. Prior to Pearl harbor, campus research was about $15 million annually. With the exigencies of world conflict, followed by that in Korea, U.S. prominence in foreign affairs, the response to Sputnik in 1957, the establishment of the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health, and later, by a keen interest in social investigation covering poverty, crime, and violence, government-sponsored research jumped to $2 billion by 1968. Although there are some negative connotations, it can be readily stated that in its pursuit of the Federal research dollar, the university and almost all colleges have dramatically cemented their involvement with the larger society. In the social realm higher education has made valiant attempts to help solve problems of poverty, crime, and violence through scientific investigation and "hands-on" involvement in its wider community, and while some progress has been made, these basic complications of human interaction are far from being solved.

Looking into the distant past of Colonial America, Everyman had been able to trace a sometimes-stumbling, but predominantly dynamic story of his nation's colleges and universities. What America had created was unique in the world: a kaleidoscopic collection of educational opportunities that gave every citizen the chance to "try college." And, it was the public community college that presented Everyman with a keystone spot with its open admissions, career programs, and academic support systems. In the 60s and 70s millions of Americans would "try college" at two-year institutions like Oakland Community College. For many of them this meant also surviving the tumultuous 60s and 70s, two decades like no other in American history.

Profile: The New Counselor

Ghosts of ill and infirm patients seemed to haunt the building as I turned the doorknob to begin my new job as a counselor at Oakland Community College. For almost four decades this place, a small two-bedroom, ranch-style house, had been the residence of sanitorium directors. As I moved through the narrow entranceway the closed odor brought musty memories to mind. How many thousands of citizens had come to this place for healing, and more depressing, how many had come to die?

It was Saturday, July 10, 1965. Unanswered questions of a new employee would stay unanswered as I walked into my sparse office and wondered if any students would come for counseling. Let alone come, would anyone really believe that a new college was emerging on this spot? The depressing surroundings hardly spoke of new birth, educational or not. At the same time, foreboding pangs of doubt began to impinge upon me. What was I doing here? Why had I come?

Such questions had greater impact because I had left a comfortable teaching spot at the local high school to come to this new college. I had abandoned a secure position for one that had no certainty of security. There was no guarantee that this institution would last a year let alone through Fall semester. My trepidation was obvious.

Weeks later I would learn that many of my teaching-counseling colleagues had left similarly comfortable environments to come to Oakland. Some had recently finished graduate programs, others were being upwardly-mobile from secondary school jobs, some had left publish-or-perish universities, and others came from foreign countries. I was particularly interested in meeting a Dean who had come from the University of Guam.

Even though my office was quiet that Saturday morning, I had heard from early-arrivals to the College that the pace was frenetic. One who had come from the pastoral setting of a small, liberal arts college, was amazed at the activity: "It's the atmosphere of a cattle-drive---head 'em up, move 'em out, rollin', rollin', rolling." Another who was hired at mid-semester couldn't believe his good fortune:

> What could be more positive? I was hired Thanksgiving week; I worked three days, got paid for the two-day holiday, then the Board of Trustees declared a Christmas bonus. I decided then and there that this was one great place to work.

Like a monk's cell my office contained a weathered desk, two straight-backed chairs, a solitary pencil, note pad with a Pontiac State Bank logo, and a wastebasket. No bright college pennants graced the institution-colored walls, no pegs to hand my proof-of-qualification diplomas, and most vital, no official OCC catalog with which to counsel new students. Currently "in process," catalogs wouldn't arrive for another month so students would be counseled from a six-page mimeographed listing of Fall classes sans course descriptions. The latter we had jotted into a notebook at the one-day orientation for new staff.

Two hours after I turned the doorknob to begin a career gamble, my first and forlorn student appeared at the door to join a record number who would get this new college off the ground. He had completed a major task in simply finding the Highland Lakes campus located adjacent to a beautiful lake at the end of a circuitous route from more populated areas of the county. This was the campus whose location people joked about: "You can't get there from here." But come they did: 3,800 students for opening day classes here and at Auburn Hills, 20 miles to the east.

Of the hundreds and hundreds who would be counseled that Summer, my favorite was the young hippie who walked in with his pet squirrel. Like the serious professional counselor, I went through the typical line of helpful questioning while, anxiously, watching the squirrel out of the corner of my eye. Scurrying from one end of the office to the other, while his master related his quest for "finding himself," the squirrel finally came to rest on my desk. Just as I was starting to ask the hippie about his career plans, which were leading toward becoming a shepherd, I glanced at the squirrel who was in the process of urinating on my desk. Without batting an eye, the session went to its conclusion, and the duo, both contented, left without a hint of apology. When I told this story to the Dean, he commented: "Well, at least you learned what the squirrel thought about your counseling abilities."

During the next two decades there would be thousands more students just as unique and interesting, but, thank God, most would be more hygienic.

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The 60s and 70s: A Condensed View

The worst feature of the 50s is that they were pregnant with the 60s. George F. Will

If you can remember the 60s, you really weren't there. Robin Williams

There is a Chinese curse which goes: "May you live in interesting times." One might argue that the curse was fully maximized during the years 1965-75 with events that began with the riots in Watts and concluded with the fall of Vietnam, ending the longest war in U.S. history. In chronicling thousands of years of mankind's story, Gibbon says that history is little more than a "register of crimes, sorrows and misfortunes." Events during this decade revealed the truth of Gibbon's statement but, by contrast, it may be said that this ten-year span was also replete with triumphs, successes, and heroism.

In describing cultural history Freeman Butts says that history can do at least two things:

> it can show what historical ingredients have gone into our present beliefs and practices and what problems face us when inherited traditions confront new conditions and new demands; and it can show how other people in other times have solved similar(though not identical) problems.

One could argue that Gibbon's "crimes"section would include "Bull" Conner, public safety commissioner of Birmingham, Alabama, spewing violent threats against civil rights marchers, and the imbroglios of Richard Nixon and his confreres near the decade's end. The nation's Vietnam involvement during the entire period could fill a volume of "sorrows" and misfortunes with the My Lai episode getting star billing. Speaking from a university perch, philosopher Allan Bloom saw the 60s as a time for ideologues and charlatans: "I know of nothing positive coming from that period; it was an unmitigated disaster....It was a period of trivial tracts and dogmatic answers."

Any list of triumphs would have to include Neil Armstrong's leaping jaunt across the moonscape viewed by millions on Earth. Successes would run the gamut between Black American's movement to fuller equality and the squeezing of women into all parts of the work place. And certainly a panoply of heroes could be listed with little hesitation: Robert F. Kennedy, Dr. Christiaan Barnard, Martin Luther King, and the Astronauts.

The margin notes of the decade's compilations would include a revolution in fashion, a bevy of media types famous for Andy Warhol's allotted 15 minutes, and a rather complete modification of social norms. A colleague of mine described the era with great enthusiasm:

> These were the protest days. It was the liberation era. Identity crises were "in" much like long hair, bell-bottoms, and bra-burning. Everyone had a cause---the hippies, the flower children, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the National Guard. Kids were involved, if only with being involved. It was great fun!

Indeed, there was a breakdown in fashion authority. People could wear (except in corporate America) anything they wanted, be considered avant garde, and nobody cared. Every kind of color, pattern, design, and combination flourished. The young became the arbiters of what was trendy. Youthful tastes were dominant as clerks and salesmen in Los Angeles and Kokomo began showing up at parties in Nehru jackets, "granny" glasses, and flared trousers. Hair became a thing to be wished for and, once granted, never cut anywhere on the body.* Rock melodies and dancing girls in miniskirts and white boots were used to sell radial tires; General Motors sold Oldsmobiles with such flare that they were envisioned as "Youngmobiles." College professors traded in their tweeds for bib overalls and railroad jackets to identify with young student protesters. Even stodgy Washington, D.C. was swept by a youthful image as Presidential Candidate Nixon turned up on the aggressively hip "Laugh-In" show and entreated "Sock it to me!" Not fully anticipating the socking yet to come, he told Republicans convening in Miami that he would always "tell it like it is." And, to add a stoned dimension to the whole milieu, Dr. Timothy Leary, the erstwhile Harvard professor, would encourage everybody to "turn on, tune in, and drop out."

Yet, it would be easy to argue that the decade represented a troubled period: such ominous sobriquets as the Age of Anxiety, the Era of Alienation, and the Time of Discontinuity appear appropriate. It is true that the nation was beset with schisms over foreign policy and that rumors and realities of discord, dissatisfactions, and violence reverberated from city to suburb. Although many did, it was difficult to take a detached view when the TV news brought live coverage of burning ghettos and Walter Cronkite describing a jungle death squad for one's tete-a-tete before dinner. Newspaper headlines practically leapt from the

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** Comedian Dick Gregory explains: "I decided not to shave or get a haircut in 1967 until the Vietnam war was over. I never got around to shaving after the war ended. Now I believe that shaving is a violation of the universe."

front pages with a sense of urgency. Witness these from an inside page of the Flint JOURNAL on May 8, 1970:

> Red Losses Listed in Cambodian Push
> Over 400 Colleges Closed by Protests
> On State Campuses: Controlled Anxiety
> State Legislator Requests Ouster of University Heads

Such banners became fodder for the jeremiads of the Silent Majority who found little comfort with similar headlines proclaiming medical advances and achievements in space. It was easy to be negative as assassinations occurred, inner cities burned, and violence became, in the words of militant H. Rap Brown, as "American as apple pie." In analyzing violence in the nation, historian Arthur Schlesinger quotes FBI statistics showing a 77 percent increase in assaults with guns from 1964 through 1967. A vivid picture of varying types of crimes of people on the FBI's Most Wanted list is seen over time:

> 1950s - Bank robbery, burglary, car theft
> 1960s - Destroying government property, sabotage, kidnapping
> 1970s - Organized crime, terrorism

It took no government agency to tell Americans that crime and violence had come to their doorsteps during this decade. By 1975, the Gallup Poll found crime to be the top concern of residents of cities of all sizes, named ahead of pressing economic problems. In 1968, 31 percent were fearful of walking in their neighborhoods at night; this figure rose to 45 percent in 1975. President Gerald Ford stated that crime is "making us fearful of strangers and afraid to go out at night."

NEWSWEEK's cover for October 6, 1969 was entitled "The Troubled American: A Special Report on the White Majority" and expressed a dominant view that was negative. It followed a similar cover story on Black Americans, equally angry, that had appeared four months earlier. With wished-for hope, TIME pictured Richard Nixon on its January 24, 1969 cover with the banner "To Heal a Nation." Binding up the country's wounds during this decade would require a magician or a messiah because this was an era in which the peaceful, nonviolent tactics of Martin Luther King contrasted with the bombast of the Black Panthers and avowed white racists. This was an era in which the volatile and nihilistic preaching of the Students for a Democratic Society were compared with the less-than-compassionate ranting of the Vice-President of the U.S., Spiro Agnew, as reported by the Boston EVENING GLOBE (July 1, 1970):

> There are people in our society who should be separated and discarded. I think it's one of the tendencies of the

> liberal community to feel that every person in a nation of 200 million people can be made into a productive citizen. I'm realist enough to believe this can't be... we're always going to have our places of preventive detention for psychopaths; and we're always going to have a certain number of people in our community who have no desire to achieve or who have no desire to even fit in an amicable way with the rest of society. And these people should be separated from the community, not in a callous way, but they should be separated as far as any idea that their opinions shall have any effect on the course we follow.

As might be surmised from Agnew's comment, it was a time in which citizens had less faith in institutions and leaders. Public opinion surveys asked if "People running the country really care what happens to you" found declining confidence. Respondents in 1966 answered "no" at a 26 percent rate, but in 1974 the negative percentage had jumped to 63. In like fashion, by 1975, 78 percent believed that "special interests get more from the Government than the rest of the people do." A general feeling of dissatisfaction and malaise reverberated between overt demonstration and vitriolic polemics from diverse groups. An aquarian decade often highlighted with sex, drugs, rock and roll could be reflected in ROLLING STONE's list of musical hits:

1960 - "Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polkadot Bikini" by Brian Hyland
1965 - "I Can't Get No Satisfaction" by The Rolling Stones
1970 - "Ball of Confusion (That's What the World is Today)" by The Temptations
1975 - "Jive Talking" by The Bee Gees

While there are parallels with other periods in history, the 60s and 70s were a time of cultural earthquake. Among numerous attempts to label the decade, Marilyn Ferguson believes that one appropriate to the 60s is the "Great Refusal." It was a time when millions seemed to be saying "No" to norms that had been taken for granted for generations. And, as a harbinger of student protests to come, Kenneth Keniston described early on groups who had rejected some aspects of American culture and who would soon reflect a "dictatorship of the ego."

However, the dynamism of the era was most noticeable at its demise: by 1975, students had moved into a self-centered mode (the Me Generation), and EBONY magazine was asking "Where Are The Revolutionaries?" For those attempting to analyze college and university developments during this decade, and particularly the community college movement, three outside forces impinging on higher education were of significant import. These were the civil rights movement, developments that politicized young people, and the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Martin Luther King and Black Progress

Three years before an assassin's bullet stole his life, Martin Luther King, Jr. could look back on an impressive record of civil rights successes. Beginning as the 26-year-old Baptist preacher-leader of a bus boycott in Montgomery in 1955, King led a movement that garnered national sympathy and world-wide attention in the fight against segregation. By 1965 he could reflect on the bravery of a Rosa Parks, the powerful role of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the efficacy of "freedom rides" organized by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the successful tactics and strategies that were helping to loosen the grip of racism on black Americans. In the process, King had been cursed, spat upon, beaten, jailed, and trailed by the FBI; but with the persistence of a zealot, he pressed onward in a quest for equality for all citizens. And, yet, not everyone was pleased with the young minister's leadership. It was a case of the gradualists---those who saw change as slow and progressive---and the revolutionaries---those who demanded immediate achievement of the movement's goals---disagreeing on a timetable. King recognized his pivotal role in the campaign: "I stand alone in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is the force of complacency....The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence."

Like most blacks who knew their history, King could recite the heritage of ancestors coming as indentured servants "before the Mayflower" in 1619 and becoming slaves as States passed laws ensuring bondage to the newborn. Despite lofty ideals in the Declaration and the new Constitution, blacks, Indians, and women were denied many basis rights. Economic changes in an agricultural South made slaves a valuable commodity and while abolitionists gained some support above the Mason-Dixon line, it took a Civil War and a long Reconstruction period to better the lot of black Americans. Even though amendments to the Constitution provided for full citizenship, State laws denied its reality with the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in 1896 (PLESSY VS FERGUSON) giving a stamp of approval to "separate but equal" status for blacks.

Hardly ever equal, a condition of separateness became both de jure and de facto wherever black populations were located. World War I brought a change in residence for thousands of blacks who migrated for jobs in Northern cities, a migration repeated during the World War II era. Contacts with Northern whites caused tensions and conflict which resulted in a race riot in Detroit in 1942. And, while blacks were fighting for democracy in Europe and Asia, President Truman's decision to desegregate the military at

war's end was not unanimously popular. Martin Luther King knew, too, the struggle by the NAACP for legal improvements in the status of black citizens. Using the courts since its founding in 1905, the National Association had lawyers functioning at every level of jurisprudence to challenge unjust laws and to defend citizens wrongly accused. Their work culminated in the BROWN VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION case in 1954 which struck down the 1896 Supreme Court ruling, and said that separation of the races was "inherently unequal."

President Dwight Eisenhower signed a weak but significant civil rights bill in 1957 which heralded a fight for fuller participation of blacks during the next two decades. Even though Eisenhower had been non-demonstrative in numerous political and social arenas, he took decisive action in Little Rock, Arkansas where integration of Central High School was being attempted. Governor Orville Faubus placed the National Guard in front of the school and serious rioting occurred. Eisenhower responded by sending Federal troops to the city. As King recalled this evolution of events, he knew that Ike's action had placed the Federal government on the side of integration.

As a young scholar King had immersed himself in the social philosophy of Hegel and Marx, the theological thoughts of Reinhard Niebuhr, the tenets of the Social Gospel, and he was also deeply affected by the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, the liberator of India. In developing his own philosophy of social change based on the gospel of Jesus Christ, King captured the quiet strength of Southern blacks by organizing a constituency around local churches. A program of non-violence was erected on what he saw as the ability of black men and women to suffer and to face the indignities of hatred passively. But in a country where more violent means for bringing change was the norm, King encountered opposition from blacks who demanded speedy alterations. He maintained cordial relations with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) but lost influence because of tactical differences. And, because the Black Panthers projected an image of direct confrontation and violent responses, he was persona non grata with them.

Facing failure and mounting criticism of his leadership, King devised a set of new tactics in July, 1962. Civil disobedience would be used to force civic leaders to grant SCLC demands. Prior to this, demonstrations against segregation, exploitation, and discrimination had been cautious, mostly peaceful, and passive when encountering opposition from established authority. King's new approach in disobeying unjust laws precipitated a much-feared response from those in power---violence. Across the South long-suffering blacks reacted, and thousands were battling police just as King had feared. While arguing that "creative tension" was a mandatory part of the nonviolent change process, he recognized that the patience of oppressed people was limited. While grieving King,

the confrontations leapt across the TV screens of America and gave national attention to the movement. More than a problem of the South, King wanted segregation to be seen as a national concern. As thousands were jailed, businesses shut down, and more violence ensued, leaders in Washington and President John F. Kennedy would eventually respond. The March on the Capitol in August, 1963 by over 200,000 black and white citizens was the capstone of King's career. Designed as a simple demonstration of solidarity for jobs and freedom, publicity on the march pricked the nation's conscience and gave King the forum he desired. With evangelistic fervor, against a backdrop of the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument, King's "I Have a Dream" speech gained a principal spot in the world's great orations. Appealing to the hearts and minds of people everywhere, he envisioned a day when:

> all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual "Free at last, free at last, Great God a-Mighty. We are free at last."

Congress would finally take action by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which would give official positive sanction to progress in legal rights. Frustrations would result, however, because expectations had been raised so high. Jobs were still scarce and the economic plight of Black America remained virtually unimproved. And while the death knell had sounded for Jim Crow laws across the South, blacks in the North, Midwest, and West remained significantly segregated by the walls of prejudice and the barriers of dollars.

Beginning in 1965 King's worst fears about violence became more pronounced when cities erupted in flames as ghetto despair gave way to grotesque destruction. The pattern established by Watts was repeated across the country as every major city with a black population exploded. Detroit, Newark, Chicago, Atlanta, Philadelphia suffered fires, looting, woundings, killings, and overflowing jails as frustration and rage found convenient targets. Anger also turned inward as "Burn, Baby, Burn" spray-painted signs appeared on smoke-covered walls of inner-city buildings, many of them black-owned. Searching for causes to this chaos, the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders analyzed forces leading to the urban riots and concluded: white America was implicated in maintaining ghetto conditions and the primary cause of the explosive incidents was white racism. This conclusion offered vindication but little comfort to King and his followers who pressed the fight against de facto segregation in such urban centers as Chicago and Detroit and strove for greater access to jobs and positions of influence.

At the same time that King's SCLC and the NAACP were seeking progress within the dominant society, two other black groups were moving in different directions. Where King was proclaiming upward mobility and liberty for his constituents, "Black Power" was the lingua franca for others. The Black Panthers, created by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, called for self-determination within the black community and self-defense when attacked by outside forces, i.e., the police. Sporting black berets, leather jackets, serious demeanors, and military accoutrements, the Panthers got lots of attention in their urban strongholds and generated fear among the white neighborhoods. Their widely-circulated newspapers proclaimed liberation for the black community and made it clear that violent attack would be returned in kind. The Panthers caused fear mainly because of their confrontations with the "pig" law enforcement agencies that had few blacks in the ranks.* As arrests, killings, and imprisonment of the Panthers became more common, the FBI played a larger role because of the charges of terrorism and radical infiltration. When one examined the basic tenets of Panther philosophy, it was difficult to find fault with the organization's aims, which listed the following principles followed by the words of the Declaration of Independence:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

2. We want full employment for our people.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

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* In 1969 the Detroit Police Department had 4,800 officers with a racial composition that was 92 percent white. One of the most intriguing accounts of black-police encounters is described in THE ALGIERS MOTEL INCIDENT which occurred during the Detroit riot of 1967. An unfriendly climate of interaction was similarly recounted in the OAKLAND PRESS (February 24, 1969) by psychologist Robert Mendelsohn: "Most white policemen feel the black community is 'primitive emotionally' and 'deficient' in law and order."

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

Reminiscent of the Founding Fathers' clarion call for independence, these lines got little circulation beyond the Panthers' spheres. The national media chose to concentrate on the bloody encounters like the Oakland, California shootout which epitomized the struggle of the radical few against the Establishment giant. As the Panther leadership was imprisoned, killed or co-opted, few vestiges of their program or impact remained by 1975.

Equally mysterious but not as visible, the Black Muslims, founded as the Nation of Islam in Detroit by W.D. Fard whose principal lieutenant became Elijah Muhammed, had a longer history and survival rate. Claiming a spiritual revelation in 1930, Fard created a sect based on the idea that the self-sufficient "chosen" must remain separate and distinct from the outside world. Enclaves of Muslims in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York modeled a unique attire, ran their own schools, created a network of interlocking support systems, and with their band of converts lived apart from the world. Although the Black Panthers would fade into nonexistence, the Black Muslims would linger on the fringes of the black community and continue to get occasional media attention. TV reporters would announce leadership changes, schisms in the ranks, and eventually the dramatic acceptance of a Caucasian into the membership.

Lesser known splinter groups of blacks tried to foster a different identity and thrust: Milton Henry called for a "Republic of New Africa" to be carved out of five Southern states where blacks could retreat as a country unto themselves. The new nation would be funded by billions of dollars paid as reparations for years of slavery exploitation. This clever idea received loads of media play but nobody in a position of power took it seriously.

Busy with his own overloaded agenda, Martin Luther King had little contact with the Panthers and Muslims. Pressing on with the task of national liberation, King had become a media darling with his captivating oratory, had gained the attention of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI which claimed a thick file on his "subversive activities" and, finally, had succeeded in acquiring a positive response from politicos in Washington. But, there were chinks in the movement's armor: other black leaders such as H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and the Panthers were demanding attention for their agendas, too. Beset with opponents within, and white racists of every stripe without, there was plenty of cause for the disturbed sleep of the preacher from Birmingham. Insomnia, however, would be a minor irritant to contend with when one considers the inevitable, unexpected but predictable bullet. On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was standing on a motel balcony in Memphis when the bullet sent by James Earl Ray took his life. Having said a number of times earlier that he might have to sacrifice his life for the cause of freedom, King was given no time for final goodbyes.

Paroxysms of anger followed the bullet and the news of the murder as riots swept across America. Violence found its way into 125 cities the week following King's death with 46 people killed, all black but five. The prophet of Gandhian nonviolence and the peace of Jesus Christ left an explosive nation in his wake. The refrain of "We Shall Overcome" would be sung, in search of completion, for some time to come.

The Young Become Politicized

Defiance and venom sprang from the 1968 black-and-white photo showing a shirtless, jeanned, young male, surrounded by his costumed peers, giving the camera the finger. With this commonplace obscene gesture he seemed to be welcoming America to the Youth Culture of the 60s and 70s, and greeting a major transformation in values and mores of the young.

The quiet, unseen youths of the Eisenhower years began to exhibit a restlessness in the late 50s that blossomed into full-blown rebellion a decade later. While the new rock and roll music became an easy scapegoat for the changes, other media played a significant role. Magazines and newspapers placed an enlarged emphasis on the young, and Hollywood produced films featuring delinquency, drugs, and raucous musical themes. A suburban generation that would benefit from a more prevalent affluence seemed adrift and in search of belief. It would not come from their elders, however, since anyone over 30 was not to be trusted. When one viewed the landscape of political assassination (JFK in 1963), the omnipresent shadow of the atom bomb, and the encroaching

spectre of foreign war, there was little confidence in listening to an older generation. However, some were not surprised by the young's urge to action, since schools, churches, boy and girl scout leaders, and families had been teaching values pointed in that direction. A compendium of teaching could be summarized as:

> You must get involved, you must aim high. You must oppose evil of all kinds. You must fight injustice. You must realize that every man is equal in spite of his color and religion. You must be concerned about the welfare of others. You must not forsake your country. You must love your enemies. You must not look to money for everything. You must be honest and expose hypocrisy. You must never let freedom of speech and assembly be taken from you. It's your life, you must live it for what you think is right regardless of what anyone or everyone will say. You must oppose tyranny. You must help the less fortunate. Power is not the essence of the good life.

Such lessons would be internalized and acted upon in a host of ways, some political, and all in a social arena.

People who worked in the campaign to give the vote to 18-year-olds had no idea that budding political interest would explode into political protest. Any hope that such interest would be reflected in increased voting percentages died unfulfilled. Even though most did not vote, it took the lessons from the civil rights struggle, activities on college campuses, the machinations of the 1968 political conventions, and acceleration of the Vietnam struggle to activate the young.

The politicizing of the Halls of Ivy and campuses across the country was coterminous with student unrest and revolt in foreign cities. Paris, Tokyo, and Mexico City saw spasms of uprising over issues as diverse as sex-segregated dorms and the peccadillos of isolated administrators. For the majority of students the revolutionary bombast was an interesting diversion from study and a reason to skip class, but for the vocal minority it was a means for getting attention (the bright eye of the TV camera being preferred) for a list of important demands. Confrontation was "in."

Henry David Thoreau's grandfather, Asa Dunbar, may have set the pattern for American student rebellion over 200 years earlier by protesting against the poor quality of food at Harvard by using a slogan "Behold, our Butter stinketh." Condemned by the faculty for "the sin of insubordination," Dunbar and the rebels conducted not a sit-in, but an eat-out: they bought their meals in town. Rowdy students had in the 20th century been newsworthy by getting drunk at fraternity parties, raiding women's dorms for panties, stuffing telephone booths, and swallowing goldfish, but there had been earlier campus riots. Thomas Jefferson had to close his

beloved University of Virginia because unruly undergraduates killed a professor. And, historian Frederick Rudolph found that between 1800 and 1875 students were in rebellion on at least one occasion at Miami University, Amherst, Brown, the University of South Carolina, Williams, Georgetown, the University of North Carolina, Yale, Dickinson, Dartmouth, Lafayette, Bowdoin, DePauw, and the City College of New York.

Although a majority of young Americans were not in college in the 60s, they identified with many of the ideas being bandied about.

Those who were informed aligned themselves with the ideals of sundry movements and were seeking greater control over their destiny. Enticing were the thoughts of student radicals who represented the "new Left," but more intriguing were the tenets of the "counterculture" with its freedom of dress, openness of language, and promise of personal social and psychological liberation. Leaders of this contraculture were convinced that the values of their elders---that oppressive Establishment---were wrong, yet they were unable to articulate their desired, redefined norms. The politicization of the young was particularly expedient. A popular slogan at the time went: "He who is not a radical at 20 does not have a heart; he who is still one at 40 does not have a head."

A semblance of articulation of youth rhetoric was provided by a group of young radicals in 1962 with the "Port Huron Statement" written by the Students for a Democratic Society. In the words of Tom Hayden, a University of Michigan student from Royal Oak, the preface stated:

> We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit....

Proposing a new political system of participatory democracy," the Statement spoke for a society that would be non-racist, non-materialist, non-imperialist, and truly democratic. In listing an

ambitious agenda, Hayden wrote that the "new left must start controversy across the land, if national policies and national apathy are to be reversed." Within time SDS would attract the attention of millions of people.*

Many of the people who had led the so-called youth revolution had participated in other demonstrations and civil rights marches; tactics learned there would be used on campus and in surrounding cities. Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, and Michigan became the loci of large radical populations, with Berkeley receiving national attention as the Free Speech Movement, sit-ins, and building take-overs gained the TV spotlight. To maximize attention verbal overkill was utilized by white and black radicals in a combination of vulgarity, obscenity, derision, epithets, and hyperbole. In time, the Berkeley experience became a microcosm of student demonstrations as rules and restrictions were protested across the land. While these outbursts got the ears of deans, Middle America and conservatives in general saw these actions as the work of a drug-crazed, communist-inspired few who, in agreement with Spiro Agnew, needed to be put away. They had no sympathy with malcontents who appealed to the SDS for assistance:

> Dear Students for a Democratic Society:
> I'm twelve years old and I wish to join the Society. Because of conditions at school your hair must not be two inches above the eyebrow. You must wear white socks. If you wore any other color, you'd be punished and this is the reason I want to join the Society.
>
> Letter to the Editor
> NEW LEFT NOTES, 1968

Other letters were indicative of rising levels of frustration among concerned youngsters who couldn't understand why "The System" didn't function in a way that ideals became realities. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence expressed this frustration best:

> Today's intelligent, idealistic students see a nation which has achieved the physical ability to provide food, shelter, and education for all, but has not yet devised social institutions that do so. They see a society, built on the principle that all men are created equal, that has not yet assured equal opportunity in life. They see a world of nation-states with the technical brilliance to harness the ultimate energy but without the common sense to agree on methods of preventing mutual destruction.

While there were many reasons to protest, the subject that caused all factions to coalesce was the Vietnam involvement. Young

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* Seymour Martin Lipset notes that the SDS had only 7,000 dues-paying members in a college population of over 7 million.

men who were of draft age had reason to be concerned since they could be on the next troop ship destined for Southeast Asia. Seen as more threatening than a mid-term in biochemistry, Vietnam brought students who would normally be spectators into the fray.

Thousands of student demonstrations occurred in the 60s and early 70s but the ones most notorious developed in 1968. National elections served as both the backdrop and the focus of attention with the Democratic National Convention in Chicago at center stage. Although not officially participating in a series of protests there, SDS members like Hayden and Rennie Davis played leading roles. They were joined by members of the national Mobilization Committee to End the War (MOB) and by the Youth International Party (Yippies) led by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. This duo saw the Convention as an opportunity to create a media event similar to their anti-war march on the Pentagon a year earlier (they accused officials there of communicating a social disease called "pentagonorrhea"). Employing theatrics of the absurd, the Yippies succeeded in getting the nation's attention. They offered a pig as their Presidential candidate, and attempted to disrupt the city with rumor (LSD in the Chicago water system, the recruitment of 230 hyper-potent hippie males to seduce the wives, daughters, and girl friends of convention delegates). Many agreed that these antics were great fun but the response from Mayor Richard Daly's police force was horrific and without humor. Democrats tried to maintain a sense of decorum but were embarrassed by the battle for the parks at night, tear gas in the air, and law enforcers running amok. Authorities played into the hands of the protesters and Stokely Carmichael was quoted in the GUARDIAN claiming:

> Any demonstration in which police are not involved is a failure for the demonstration. If they cannot get authority to use force, they have failed.

With vivid imagery and chaotic reality Chicago had revealed an ugly side to the acting out of the right to dissent and the hasty response of those in power. In 1969 a Federal grand jury indicted MOB and Yippie leaders under the 1967 Federal Conspiracy Act Law. Trial of the "Chicago Seven" turned into a legal circus as Judge Julius Hoffman played into the theatric hands of Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, the coup de grace being the gagging and chaining of Black Panther Bobby Seale for disrupting proceedings.

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* In 1987, the once-feared Black Panther would be in the news with his publication of a cookbook and video, BARBECUING WITH BOBBY, and a comment about another revolutionary-turned-capitalist: "If Jane Fonda can drop 250,000 exercise videos, why can't Bobby Seale drop a half-million of these things every barbecue season?"

Although found guilty, the defendants were exonerated by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1972 with a reversal which appeared to vindicate the Yippies and to reaffirm the rights of protesters.

Whatever form dissent and protest took, such actions did not sit well with Middle America; much of the dismay was reflected in this US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT comment in May, 1969:

> Yippies are chipping away, blacks are chipping away, the enemy overseas is chipping away. If you keep on hitting the Man (the Establishment) from every side, punching him, laughing at him, ridiculing him, he will eventually collapse. That's what is going to happen in America.

Speaking for the quiet majority and the forgotten students, it also reported that for every hardcore radical on campus there were 99 other students interested only in learning. Such a conclusion was substantiated by a Harris Poll (1969) claiming that 90 percent of the country favored a "crackdown on hippie student protest groups." Similar attitudes were reflected in a Top Ten tune by Merle Haggard called "Okie From Muskogee."

We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee,
And we don't take our trips on L.S.D.
And we don't burn our draft cards down on Main Street,
But we like living right and being free.

CHORUS

And I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee,
A place where even squares can have a ball.
We still wave old Glory down at the Court House,
White lightning's still the biggest thrill of all.

We don't make a party out of loving,
But we like holding hands and pitching woo.
We don't let our hair grow long and shaggy,
Like the hippies out in San Francisco do. (Chorus)

Leather boots are still in style if man needs foot ware,
Beads and Roman sandals won't be seen.
Football's still the roughest thing on campus,
And the kids here still respect the college Dean.(Chorus)

Few who brought the record and cheered the musician saw the contradiction in condemning one kind of drug (marijuana) and endorsing another (illegal alcohol, "white lightning"). Conformity to more acceptable values and a call for action against campus outburst was even made by a liberal New York TIMES editorialist: "These disturbed and disturbing youngsters should be expelled. The university is not a residence facility for the psychiatrically maladjusted."

Other writers found justification for student dissatisfaction with the educational process asserting that most college programs had a strong intrinsic interest for no more than a quarter of the students. Psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim was not as sympathetic with their plight; he likened the student militants' tactics to that of the Nazis.

> The small groups who want to foment a revolution, a Maoist or nihilist revolution, go to the universities for three reasons. One, there are lots of young people there who are excitable; two, universities won't call in police; three, if police are called, they won't shoot.

Similar thoughts were echoed by President S.I.Hayakawa with his bullhorn atop a car at San Francisco State, as he proclaimed that the general public was infuriated that the most highly privileged young should be the least grateful for their privileges. Bettelheim's predictions about police power proved wrong as public demonstrations and campus confrontations became more intense. Even staid Harvard called in 400 helmeted and club-swinging officers to bloody 200 revolutionaries who occupied the administration building for 17 hours. A study of causes of unrest at Harvard concluded in a 4,000-word report that racism, the draft, and the Vietnam War were at the root of much student discontent. At the University of Michigan, police clashed with students demanding increased black enrollment and special programs as conflict became the norm. In a study of protests at 524 institutions during the 1969-69 academic year, the American Council on Education found a host of violent acts. In this climate of increasingly hostile contact of citizens with signs and citizens with guns, what was most feared was inevitable: students would be killed. Of those who lost their lives in domestic confrontations during the decade the most dramatic occurred in the quiet farming country of Ohio. "Kent State" became a rallying cry for anti-war adherents after 28 National Guardsmen fired into a crowd of 2,000 demonstrators and killed 4 students and wounded 9 on May 4, 1970. Events leading to the tragedy followed a pattern of increasing enmity that was repeated hundreds of times across the country. Demonstrations at the University were sparked by President Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam conflict and the invasion of Cambodia.

Three days of confrontation led to the tragedy.

May 1 Students buried a copy of the U.S. Constitution. That night a crowd of students, many drinking, roamed through the center of town, smashing windows. Police dispersed crowd and the mayor of Kent called in a contingent of 145 National Guardsmen. A second rally was called for noon May 4.

May 2 A crowd surrounded the university's Army ROTC building structure was set afire. Fire fighters were pelted with rocks and some of their hoses were punctured.

May 3 Students gathered at the Victory Bell, normally a rallying point after athletic victories. By 9 P.M. students were ordered to disperse and when they refused, tear gas was fired into the crowd. The students regrouped at the

main intersection on campus. More tear gas was fired.

May 4 The planned noon rally had been banned by university officials at the urging of the National Guard leaders, but many of the students were determined to hold it anyway. An order for student demonstrators to disperse was met with chants and rocks.

Guardsmen with fixed bayonets and tear gas forced the demonstrators to retreat. The sweep left guardsmen on the football practice field several hundred yards from their staging area.

The guardsmen than retreated as rock-throwing students followed them. When guardsmen reached the crest of Blanket Hill, a contingent of approximately 28 guardsmen turned and opened fire.

Newspapers around the world carried pictures of a kneeling, screaming coed, grieving above the body of a fallen comrade. Indelibly etched on the consciousness of concerned citizens, the photo caused the nation to pause in stunned amazement. However, as James Michener found when researching his book, **KENT STATE: WHAT HAPPENED AND WHY,** not everyone saw the event as tragic. He records the following dialogue:

Michener: But you had three sons there.

Mother: If they didn't do what the guards told them they should have been mowed down.

Professor of Psychology: Is long hair a justification for shooting someone?

Mother: Yes. We have got to clean up this nation. And we'll start with the longhairs.

Professor: Would you permit one of your sons to be shot simply because he went barefooted?

Mother: Yes.

Professor: Where do you get such ideas?

Mother: I teach at the local high school.

Professor: Do you mean that you are teaching your students such things?

Mother: Yes. I teach them the truth. That the lazy, the dirty, the ones you see walking the streets and doing nothing ought to be shot.

This mother's reaction mirrored the schizophrenic response of Americans to the politicization that had occurred: there was acceptable lawlessness and unacceptable. Pictured on **TIME's** cover, Attorney General John Mitchell called for law and order (prior to being indicted,himself), and most citizens gave a hearty "yea." When the nightly news showed scenes of tear gassed campuses, citizens viewing the lawlessness selectively answered with a chorus of "Nay." With little forgiveness for the protesters, these same citizens listened politely as President Nixon urged them to shun cynicism and to keep faith in the basic soundness of the American Political system after being stunned by the Watergate scandal.

Although never understanding the rationale for their elders' bifurcated response, the young were sensitive to those forces that affected them directly. As blacks made social and economic progress, civil rights issues faded into the background; as Vietnam wound down and the military draft ended, militarization was less an issue; and as college administrations became more responsive to legitimate changes, there were fewer reasons to picket and protest. By 1971 Gallup found that attitudes on campus were more in tune with those of the general population and that the Puritan ethos of hard work had not been rejected. While still worrying about economic security, the students found college faculty "too impersonal" and desired increased personal freedom in their own lives. By the end of the decade (1975) the politicized campus militant had all but vanished and had been replaced by a student mood that mixed apathy toward the present with apprehension about the future. Militancy was dead; the Vietnam War and civil rights were replaced by a new-found preoccupation with grades and careers. For most, the "Me Generation" was in ascendancy.

Vietnam: The Target and the Dilemma

Without a doubt, Vietnam was the cause celebre of politicized youth, nihilists in search of a popular issue, pacifists who saw evil in all armed conflict, and isolationists of whatever stripe. Activist Jerry Rubin said, "If Vietnam didn't exist, we would have to invent one." What was once a campus issue spilled over into all parts of society as U.S. involvement widened, and numerous groups--- church leaders, advocates of the peace movement, black spokesmen---became more disaffected. In the fall of 1967, 60 per cent of 71 major college demonstrations were centered on Vietnam: 38 percent protested Dow Chemical Company recruiting, 12 per cent opposed military recruiting, and 10 percent denounced the general "immorality" of the war.

Two years later, similar protests at 524 institutions had an anti-Vietnam flavor targeting ROTC programs, selective service policies, and government-sponsored military research. For most Americans these expressions of discontent existed on the margins of national consciousness for there was little awareness of Asian

areas with impossible names. Even the so-called experts overlooked the coming apocalypse: Leonard Freedman's 1965 book, **ISSUES OF THE SIXTIES** (1965), discussed poverty, science and technology, the nuclear threat, competition with the Soviets but made absolutely no mention of Vietnam.

No one had to alert the Vietnamese to increased hostilities since they had been fighting since the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945. When the French tried to reconquer their former colony, the U.S. was forced to make a decision about economic and military support. Choosing not to commit American soldiers, President Eisenhower opted for aid and advisers in non-combat roles. This policy was continued by President Kennedy with the acceleration of money and men, little noticed by the average citizen. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson campaigned for the White House by declaring that "we are not about to send American boys 10,000 miles away to do what Asian boys should be doing for themselves." Once elected, however, he was captivated by military intrigue but frustrated by a war unlike any that the U.S. had ever entered. Ambiguous American goals, coupled with impenetrable jungle terrain, and an elusive enemy fighting on his own turf predestined tragedy and defeat.

By 1965, there were 181,000 American troops in Vietnam (1,314 had already been killed); three years later there were over a half-million. The prelude to disaster began on February 7, 1965 when fighter-bombers from three aircraft carriers attacked a Viet Cong staging area in North Vietnam. The raids were ostensibly in retaliation for a VC attack on an American installation at Pleiku. These raids proved to be the first of many during the next three years, but when they ended, President Johnson's career lay in ruins, as did much of the Peninsula. Within time, they destroyed the Great Society and brought Richard Nixon to the White House.

Of the many events causing military and political consternation, the Tet offensive waged by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese army proved to be pivotal. On January 30, 1968, Communist forces attacked Da Nang, the second largest city in the South, and within a short time the provincial capitals were aflame, the enemy penetrating even to Saigon. Taken by surprise, the American public awoke to a possibility of impending doom because all previous prediction had been for eventual victory. Although suffering disastrous casualties, the Communists' Tet operation had achieved the ultimate: U.S. public opinion was soon to turn decisively against this war which had never been officially declared. For almost a decade the nation's involvement had grown by tiny increments at first, some secret and some public, until the massive buildup in 1965. By Tet, information concerning Southeast Asia finally hit home; increasing "body counts" would fuel the anti-war campaign. Black Americans would tire of seeing their sons over-represented in the trenches and on the death lists. Over 10,000 draft-age men would flee the country to escape conscription. But the majority would serve: almost 3 million men and women would participate in their country's longest military encounter, and over 58,000 would die, before a truce was signed in 1973 and Vietnam fell to the Communists in 1975.

As the war wedged into the annals of American history, books, magazines, films, and TV would attempt to tell the story of good policy gone awry. Part of the personal side was written by one of my former high school students on September 22, 1970 from Nha Trang where he was stationed as a war correspondent. His comments may be indicative of the impressions of hundreds of thousands of soldiers:

> With my job, I have experienced conditions from one extreme to the other. Where I am stationed is practically the safest place in Vietnam. Only rarely does it get "hit" and this is always at the airfield about a mile from here with mortars or rockets. We have a beach---the South China Sea---right across the street for swimming, and I work in an air-conditioned office.
>
> On the other hand, when we're out on stories, there are times when we really rough it. I have slept out in the middle of a rice paddy with a small tank unit, miles from the nearest fire support base. I have sat on the perimeter of a mountain firebase, with an M60 machine gun in front of me, pulling night guard so the other guys could each get a half an hour more sleep. And I have gone on helicopter combat assaults into the jungle not knowing what or who might be waiting there for us. Last May when the big push into Cambodia took place, I was there.
>
> It sounds a bit like I'm tooting my own horn...I'm not. What I'm saying is that I've seen just about every side to the war. From the dirty infantryman wading through a stream to the Army doctor treating a sick Vietnamese child---I've seen it.
>
> The pacification effort---"winning the hearts and minds of the people"---is a very nebulous thing. It is very hard to measure the way a people think. We will only discover through hindsight what we have accomplished here. One thing I found out: The Vietnamese despise the term "Vietnamization." They feel it implies there was a time when they were not contributing---not involved in the war. I wonder if "Nixon and Company" thought, really thought, of the long history of this war, certainly much longer that U.S. involvement, before they coined this all-purpose term?
>
> The "withdrawals" you read about are a lie. Do you know what happened when the 1st Division was "withdrawn"? All those who were scheduled to go home, who had completed their 12-month tour---went home. Anyone who had any time left in-country was just reassigned to

another unit. We work in an office which is located right next to a replacement barracks. Every day there are many new arrivals from the States, milling around outside. No one is getting withdrawn, but young soldiers are still definitely coming over. So many prominent, powerful people have condemned this war---so many soldiers will not see home again. How would you like to be the father of the last man killed here?

So many soldiers, fighting everyday in the jungle, feel like I do. You may wonder---I do---why they came her if they feel that way. Likewise, I ask myself what I'm doing here. I think the answer lies in the character of these men. I have lived with them, talked with them, sweated with them, and I know how they feel. I sat around a small fire one evening with a group of Rangers. One of them stood up and said to no one in particular, "Wow, man, tomorrow we're going to go out and kill some more people." He was not drunk or high on drugs, just a 22-year-old who had been doing for seven months what he'd been trained for.

This is what was hard to figure out: why soldiers so against the war came over here and then kept at it. You certainly can't call them superpatriots. And the youth who went to Toronto or Stockholm cannot hate the war any more than some of the soldiers I've seen carrying rifles or sitting behind typewriters. Yet he acted one way and they the other. If strength of conviction is not the answer, you must look at something else in the man to see why he accepts such a despised and potentially dangerous chore.

It is like the feeling you get before a big test, an important race, or a crucial game. During those agonizing moments of waiting, when your stomach feels weak and you sweat cold, you wish that either you were a thousand miles away or that it was over with---just to get rid of the pressure---you still feel exactly the opposite. I can't call it a desire to "do your duty" or "meet the challenge." Maybe there is no name for it. But if you've ever been through this experience, you know what it feels like. Something inside makes you do it.

Now if you take this ambivalence which you briefly knew and extend it over a period of one year, you can understand then what many soldiers feel over here. It might wane---sometimes even into the unconscious---but when your thoughts get serious during moments of contemplation, the feeling will return.

I have seen young soldiers die. They didn't like the war but they came. They saw things wrong with America, but also saw some good things in the country that made them say "No" to a trip to Canada---a self-imposed exile. And now they have nothing, for they are dead.

Many people call this a "tragic waste." But the words, though so short and common, are wrong. A house destroyed by fire, a museum of priceless relics crumbled by earthquake, these are tragic wastes. But the loss of life can never be called a waste, no matter what the modifier. A tragedy---yes, but a waste, no. Not even when death occurs in a rice paddy so far away from that thing called home.

Peace,
Mike

Views such as Mike's did not intrude into the homes of most Americans who continued their normal activities of working, keeping ahead of inflation, and slowly, inexorably, become aware of the war. They were moved in that direction not be letters from the Front but by long-haired youngsters in an anti-war movement who produced a new subculture, a new language, a different code of dress, modifications in morality, and a new, closer analysis of the meaning of life.

LIFE magazine devoted its cover story on October 24, 1969 to "The Day of Dissent" in dissecting the impact of the nation's Vietnam protest, spotlighting Nixon's embattled White House, and editorially calling for U.S. troop withdrawals. Believing that the war was not winnable, LIFE suggested that the President settle for a tie. Beginning on October 18, 1963, the Students for a Democratic Society participated in the first Washington demonstration against American involvement. From that time on momentum would gradually build; by 1965 blacks would take control of civil rights efforts and whites would spin off into the peace movement. Attention-getting methods began to pay off: draft cards were burned, American flags suffered public conflagration, and, more dramatic, following the example of Buddhist monks, two men committed self-immolation. One, Norman Morrison, a Quaker, set himself afire on the steps of the Pentagon. Such meretricious acts were not as common as the leveled, logical, though often emotional, expressions of opposition to the war. With the escalation of hostilities, those opposed gained a nationwide audience. And, on college campuses, faculty-student-community teach-ins made dissent respectable.

* In 1963 I taught a high school U.S. Foreign Relations class using a series of pamphlets, one covering Southeast Asia. By that time, 115 Americans had been killed there as military advisers and government workers, and few citizens knew about it. I recall telling my students: "When 100 Americans a week are killed in Southeast Asia, the attention of the U.S. public will be aroused."

The teach-ins began at the University of Michigan on March 24, 1965: during a one-day moratorium professors would speak on the war rather than teach their classes. This strategy, which caused a great flap with conservative U of M trustees, some faculty colleagues, and the public, came to be repeated on campuses across North America. Students at the Flint Campus of U of M supported the National Student Association's drive for countrywide endorsement of a "People's Peace Treaty" calling on the U.S. Department of State to help end the killing. Placards from the Flint Area Mobilization Committee scheduled a strike for the campus and the city with this explanation:

WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT...THIS WORLD CAN BE BETTER

> Another peace demonstration because the war in Vietnam is not over yet, and because repression, poverty, housing shortages, etc., are a fact of life in America
>
> There are many issues, but they tend to settle down to 2 lineups. There are those who say the war must continue until the US wins, and there are those who say that the only way out of Vietnam is in ships. There are those who say that only the deserving poor should get a meal, and there are those who say that hunger and human degradation are a needless disgrace. There are those who say that it's good for business, it's good for everyone, and there are those who say that we can no longer let decisions about ecology, foreign policy, hunger, and housing be made by ledger book mentalities.
>
> There are those who say that students are mindless fools who shouldn't be allowed to think for themselves, and there are those who say that students are human beings with certain basic rights that have been denied to them. There are students who care about building a new world of brotherhood, and there are those who tell them not to care and they will be provided with a secure spot in the old one. But they do care and we care. We care about the widening gap between rich and poor, Black and White, hunger and over-eating, over-buying. And that's what this strike is all about.
>
> The Student Mobilization Committee is calling on all students to strike in support of the high school bill of rights and for and end to the war in Vietnam. Support Us!

STRIKE - APRIL 15

Opposition to Vietnam spread like an epidemic resulting in campus shut-downs, banner parades through urban streets, and hundreds of thousands marching on Washington. College administrators sought to keep the campuses tranquil, tried to reach compromises with disparate elements, and to appease legislators and

governing boards. They did not have the luxury of foreign autocrats who could respond to opposition with an iron fist. President Joseph Mobuto of the Congo closed riotous Louvanium University in 1971 and inducted all 3,000 of its protesting students into the army. No war in the 20th century was as unpopular on American campuses as was Vietnam, and administrators saw few alternatives to going along. Because they ignited confrontations, military recruiters were barred from many campuses, and recruiters for defense-contract industries were routinely picketed.

Just how crucial an issue was Vietnam during this era? When President Nixon signed a truce agreement in 1973, campus activism and uproar quickly ceased.

Another of my former students, Frank Montour, returned to Oakland to head the Student Government and the local chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). He explained the views of many who had served in the unpopular war:

> Thousands of vets came home unnoticed except by family and a few close friends. As we searched for a return to "our place" it became obvious that the great bulk of Americans simply didn't care. There was token thanks at Memorial Day parades but the majority of people were caught up in the business of getting ahead. They were saying in effect: "It was nice of you young guys to go marching off to defeat the Yellow Peril but we don't have time for you just now." The "Me Decade" mentality was starting to take precedence over all else as America was moving from affluence to effluence.

It could be concluded that boys from the Class of '55 had become officers for boys from the Class of '65 who subsequently became the cannon-fodder of Vietnam. The survivors became some of the social, psychological, and emotional cripples of 1975 whose "homecoming" would not come until a decade later with a Washington monument to the 58,132 killed in the jungles and wastelands of Southeast Asia. A New York TIMES editorial in 1985 explained the effect of the shiny black Vietnam Memorial in this way:

> Most of all, the explanation is the names. Jointly and severally, as the lawyers say, they create a memorial at once national and personal. In each sharply etched name one reads the price paid by yet another family. In the sweeping patterns of names, chronological by day of death, 1959 to 1975 one reads the price paid by the nation. Vietnam gashed our history, but this memorial is no gash. Ten years after the war, America may not yet comprehend the loss of these 58,000 names but it has at least found a noble way to remember them.

** At Jackson State College in Mississippi, two black youths were also killed by law enforcement officers during a demonstration there in 1970.

The war that had come "live" with the evening news would fade reluctantly into memory. Years hence, when emotions had passed on, Hollywood would do a comedy about the Asian conflict as it did with Korea's M.A.S.H.

Aftermath to a Revolution

While the events of civil rights, politics and Southeast Asia were dominant in the 60s and 70s, other events showed the fluid nature of American society. People sought stability and accountability but found Three Mile Island and Watergate. Faith in institutions lessened in the early 70s as trust and credibility became vital issues. Crime rates rose relentlessly, divorce rates tripled from those of 1955, and an energy crisis affected economic growth.

From Harvard to UCLA, students moved away from the barricades and back to the books as a "Joe College" mood returned and credentials and careers took center stage. By 1974 militancy was dead, malaise occupied most campuses, dorms were coed, and marijuana and alcohol were the drugs of choice. The volcanic 60s had become the quiescent mid-70s. Rather that cries of protest, the unofficial student motto had become "Plan for tomorrow, live for today, and party tonight." In 1974 the Daniel Yankelovich public opinion research organization found that the generation gap was narrowing as youth values began to again resemble those of their elders. There was, however, increasing unhappiness among young blue-collar workers who were not in college.

It was into this environment that Oakland Community College was born as a new college in 1965, and these were forces that would impact on its students, faculty, and compuses through 1975. And, as the Chinese curse predicted, they were destined to be interesting times.

3

Two Presidents and Two Dreams

In great things it is enough to have tried.
Erasmus

Be not the first by whom the new is tried;
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.
Alexander Pope

Professor Norman Harris, one of my mentors at the University of Michigan, was fond of saying about chief executives: "The institution will always reflect the personality of the President." Such is the case of Oakland. Both the founding president, John E. Tirrell, and his successor, Joseph E. Hill, left an indelible impression on the institution by force of personality and by the conviction that their plans were right. Both presidents possessed dreams of what the college could become and both attempted to bring innovation to higher education in their own way.*

Tirrell would attempt to innovate system-wide with an audio-tutorial, systems approach to teaching, and Hill would try to experiment on a more limited basis with cognitive learning styles of students, professors, and administrators. Because Oakland was a growth county in terms of population and assessed valuation, neither chief executive lacked funds for experimentation because the OCC Board of Trustees was never parsimonious when it came to allocations. When it came to cost, neither president would be bothered by Senator Everett Dirksen's succinct comment on Washington spending habits: "A billion here, a billion there, and pretty soon you're talking about real money." One of the challenges of leaders at community colleges is responsible use of

* While not too common in education, innovation would be proclaimed as a "magic bullet" elsewhere. A colleague described it as "the stuff of which dreams---and nightmares---are made." Tom Peters, in the bestselling book A PASSION FOR EXCELLENCE, states that the primary rule for business success is to "constantly innovate."

taxpayers' dollars. Because responsible use permits a certain latitude with individual interpretation, some parameters are mandated by State and Federal auditing guidelines. In effect, college presidents are caught in a dilemma of justifying legitimate outlays to visiting State audit teams and building legitimate defenses for those funds used for special pet projects.

While some taxpayers might question the use of some funds, no one could dispute the fact that both presidents were in tune with their times. During this decade, public opinion was calling for paroxysms of innovation in the nation's classrooms. Those who posed elaborate apologias to show why education should remain unchanged no longer had an audience. However, they still had a majority of the company of educators who believed that if you stay at the rear of the advance, you can be at the forefront of the retreat. Writing in 1965, John Gardner warned that "it will be possible for colleges and universities to be busy and populous and yet fail in their essential jobs---which is to say that they could be busy and populous frauds."

In trying to do things differently, Tirrell, Hill and other community college leaders were in a peculiar bind: because their students' credits had to be acceptable by four-year institutions, little latitude remained for flexible innovation. Other rigid dogmas were encountered by the adventuresome and bold. Tirrell and his band of innovators knew what they were up against as the obstacles were enumerated by educator Alvin Eurich:

1. Tradition: the customs of Academia are notoriously conservative.
2. Motivation: the faculty have no interest in being more efficient.
3. Laziness: teachers follow the methods of those who have taught them.
4. Comfort: following the same procedures year after year is much easier than changing.
5. Economy: the old methods seem to save time and effort which can be used in other activities such as research writing which are valued more highly than teaching by universities in promotions and salary.
6. Technology: the outmoded construction of buildings and other facilities freezes instructional procedures.
7. Timidity: why stick out your neck and be criticized, when your present procedures are adequate by current standards.

As Oakland set about to slaughter the old ways of doing things in education, President Tirrell looked with optimism at demographics of the baby boom. He knew that a population would show up no matter what kind of college was created. Clarence Faust, president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, gave

this ambitious stimulus for experimenting with change:

> The flood of students we must expect in American education, I hasten to say, is not a misfortune, but a boon, and it may well be that under the pressure of necessity we may do some things we should long ago have done but would not be likely to do even now, except under the spur of necessity.

As Tirrell had predicted, the flood of students arrived in September, 1965: the 3,800 who came to the new college proved to be the largest first-year class in American history. Students would encounter terminology in the educational lexicon that was part of the attempt to innovate---general assembly sessions, terminal performance specifications, tutorials--- and, as more freshmen came, Hill would add other vocabulary---"burst" activities, IPLL, and the Educational Sciences. Almost by force of personality, undergirded with great intellectual power, Tirrell and Hill would try to force higher education off dead center to improve the lot of students. With boundless energy they gave pep talks to faculty, attempted to simplify complicated teaching philosophy for students, and barnstormed the county, state, and country in spreading the gospel of innovation at OCC. Because the innovation attempts were college-wide, a rarity in public education, and involved thousands of students, the media were interested and visitors came to observe, question, and wonder. There had been two basic options open for the new college. The Board and the first presidents could play it safe replicating the other colleges in America by clipping from the catalogs of extant institutions, offering traditional courses three times a week, hiring a traditional faculty who were committed to "telling and testing." Or, they could take a bolder, more dynamic step by creating a college that would serve its students and community well into the next century. The College chose the second, more challenging, option and set about the task of pulling off an innovative experiment.

Each president in his own way played the spotlight to maximize publicity and his role in the venture. But not all were convinced of the leaders' sincerity: a faculty colleague years later gave this assessment of Tirrell and Hill:

> Both were remote, sequestered in an ivory tower to which only a favored few gained admittance. Each built his own empire on personal ambitions of a very different nature, and were rather ruthless in their respective pursuits. They differed in image. Tirrell had the arrogant air of a corporate head. Hill was more of a white-knuckled bully who was trying to pass himself off as a nice guy. I don't miss either of them.

Every chief executive will attract a cadre of supporters and

detractors; it's the nature of leadership. Analysts note a modicum of megalomania in almost all leaders; a natural requisite which becomes a truism for the leaders is the belief that I can do the job better than anyone else. As to Presidents Tirrell and Hill, what does the record show about the job that was done?

The Dream of Jack Tirrell

What could be described as the vaulting ambition of Oakland began with the hiring of Dr. John E. Tirrell as president on August 27, 1964. Handome, debonair, extremely articulate, "Jack the Jet" as he was affectionately, and sometimes with derision, called by faculty, strode the boundaries of one of the nation's wealthiest counties as he lay the foundation for what was planned as the "best community college in the world." In one of his earliest presentations to the Board of Trustees on February 18, 1965, Tirrell defined the implications of excellence necessary to produce the desired results for the new institution: "Excellence requires the vision to look beyond and above the ordinary and routine, the courage to strive for the best and to face the prospects of failure, and the determination to face and surmount the problems and challenges that inevitably lie along the route." With a ubiquitous cigar held jauntily like F.D.R., he began the task of creating a college without an office, a secretary, and, as he would recall, "not even a paper clip."

Most agreed that the Board had chosen well in naming Tirrell. In addition to establishing a physical presence with his public persona, Tirrell brought an attractive track record to his new position. A native of Muskegon, Michigan, he served in the U.S. Air Corps during World War II, and returned to graduate from Hope College in 1949. He received a Masters degree from the University of Michigan, attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was awarded the doctorate in education from Harvard in 1954. With teaching and administrative experience in Michigan public schools, Tirrell moved on to be assistant director of the Harvard Center for Field Studies before being appointed Dean at Grand Rapids Junior College. From 1958-62 he served as general secretary of the University of Michigan Alumni Association. For this work of merit he was designated as one of the five outstanding young men in Michigan in 1956. Having served on the Governor's Commission on Community and Junior Colleges, Tirrell wrote extensively on the problems and challenges of higher education. What particularly

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By 1987, OCC would have a value of $250 million in land, buildings, and equipment located at five campuses and a central administrative office complex.

brought him to the attention of the Oakland Board was his record as Vice-President of Instructional Services for the St. Louis, Missouri Junior College District. Receiving national acclaim for his revolutionary use of computers in programming new building requirements, he was credited with saving an estimated $10 million in campus construction costs. Other experience in St. Louis provided Tirrell with insights into changes he would bring to Oakland. Campus development there included a variety of sites, many deemed unlikely places for college classes: a small arms plant (United States Ordnance), a vacant J.C. Penney story, a defunct parochial college, and a former amusement park. He also arranged contracts with local high schools as extension centers so students didn't have to drive great distances for credit classes.

An indication of his independent spirit and need for full authority was apparent when Tirrell was offered the Oakland presidency: he would accept the position on the condition that not a bit of work would be done before his arrival---not an office rented or a paper clip bought. There was little mystery as to who would be in charge of the new institution.

Returning to Michigan in October of 1964, Tirrell began the task of hiring a staff of key administrators. Interviews followed a simple format: he asked applicants what they thought about traditional college instruction and if the interviewee favored the status quo, the discussion was quickly terminated. Those who answered appropriately proceeded to the pioneer stage. Included in the first muster of innovators were Dr. Albert Canfield, vice-president for curriculum, who would be a chief architect of the systems approach and the fiery cheerleader for classroom change. Dr. James Hobson was appointed vice-president for business, Irving Levinson, an engineer, became associate dean of technical education, Dr. Richard Wilson, dean of instruction, and Dr. Joseph Davenport was named dean of campus.* In its quest to build the best community college in the world, the Board gave Tirrell free rein to buy the best staff, the best methods, and the best facilities he could find. In buying the best staff, long-term contracts, considerable freedom of action and high salaries (higher than those paid at many state universities) were attractive carrots. The open pocketbook paid off: Dr. B. Lamar Johnson of UCLA wrote after visiting: "In 1966, OCC has the greatest collection of talent at one community college to this date, in the history of the two-year college in the United States."

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* A few months later, Dr. Jack Netcher, hired from the University of Guam to be Dean at Auburn Hills, would write an administrative manual called "Blueprint for a Wagon Train." Campus Deans would subsequently be re-titled Provosts with their own staff of Deans.

Walter Fightmaster came a year later and was instrumental in developing the College's campus in the southeast quadrant of the District.

In the early months of Oakland's birth Tirrell presided at the epicenter of frenetic activity: three campus sites were purchased within 90 days, two with buildings requiring adaptation to an educational function; in rapid succession followed the development of an innovative teaching model for which no texts or instructional materials existed, the publicizing of the college so students would appear in September, and the interviewing and hiring of a faculty (3,000 applicants for 135 positions).* Similar to the recruitment of open-minded administrators, future Oakland professors were queried on teaching methodologies and those who showed an affection for lecturing were quickly shown the door. Tirrell wanted pioneers unconstrained with tradition and he saw a bright future for those who joined his dream. At the initial meeting in July, 1965, he predicted that "each of you will be in great demand when the things being done at Oakland become known to other institutions."**

* At a time when crucial decisions had to be made, the mundane crept in: frantic parents called about their sons and daughters attending classes in a former T.B. sanitorium. To allay these fears and apprehensions, Tirrell got the County Health Department to issue a news release saying that "people, not buildings, transmit tuberculosis."

** Within a short time his prediction became reality as several staff moved on to university positions and to become presidents and deans at other two-year colleges. There were few departures after 1970 because OCC salaries and benefits could not be matched by many institutions across the country.

But, more pressing was the present task, not future fame, and with evangelistic conviction, he tried to infect the new staff with innovative fervor. In October, 1964, an Oakland County educators' association gave him a plaque containing the words of Father Serra, who had established 17 missions up and down the California coast two centuries earlier. The plaque read:

> See to it that the new missionaries come well provided with patience, charity, and good temper, for they may find themselves rich in tribulations.
> But where can the laboring ox go that the plough will not be heavy to drag? And unless he drags it, how shall the seed be sown?

While working on the "patience" and "good temper" with those who dragged behind in the rapid change, Tirrell displayed his prescience in the development of the College's Master Plan for the period 1964-70. In projecting the need for campus sites for anticipated student growth in enrollment, he wrote: "While this might not be the place to use the 'crystal ball' it is conceivable that the College will have five or six campuses by 1980." Anticipating this remarkable expansion, Tirrell wanted to design the best possible teaching-learning environment available to students anywhere.

Creating a New Model

Tirrell would not have been pleased with the marketing of Henry Ford's Model T ("You can have any color you want as long as it's black"). Doing things "the same old way" was not a part of his sometimes salty vocabulary. Although a new learning approach was needed, he clung to the basic objectives of the community college movement which included:

1. Transfer Programs - These educational programs will provide the courses of instruction found in the first two years of leading universities for students planning to transfer to the four-year institution.
2. Technical and Vocational Programs - Educational programs designed to provide students with pre-employment experience before entering an occupation and for retraining or up-grading people already employed.
3. General Education - Indirectly in all courses, but directly in specific courses, experience will be planned to develop the broadly educated person with a grasp of the inter-relationship of the various academic disciplines. Educational

experiences will be provided to enable students to learn how to learn, think logically, communicate thought, make relevant judgments, discriminate among values and make applications of this general education.

4. Community Service - Various programs will be developed to enrich the community and release the potentials of adults in their occupation, homes, as creative beings, as social individuals, with an emphasis on individual excellence in all programs.
5. Developmental Programs - These programs will be provided for students who need to remove scholastic deficiencies in their educational preparation or add specific subject requirements to prepare for a particular transfer or technical program.
6. Counseling and Guidance - Crucial to all of the above programs is a carefully planned program of assisting students in the selection of goals consistent with their abilities, to interpret the various programs to prospective students and to provide assistance with educational and personal problems.

This listing of common purposes was easy; monumental was the task of having the experiment in place by the time students arrived.

Arguing that innovation would give a patina of respectability (and certainly publicity) to the new college, in January, 1965 Tirrell took Board members and architects on a tour of California institutions (Orange Coast, San Mateo, Foothill, San Francisco City College) and also met with the noted authority on innovation in education, UCLA's Dr. Johnson. Whenever the opportunity arose Tirrell regaled listeners with one of his favority defenses of changing the status quo in education: "The medieval monks were the forebears of contemporary lecturers. They were the only people of their day who could read. So they read the few books available and told their students what the books said. This is still the practice in most colleges---despite the fact that most students can read by the time they get to college, and despite the advent of television, tape recorders, films, and other better means of communication." By proclaiming that a "better way" was imminent, OCC publicity began to pay dividends as newspaper headlines blared "An Educational Miracle is Blooming in Oakland," this nine months before classes opened. Another paper explained that the new trend was a "Hometown College for $200 a Year," and "Machine Socrates to Tutor First College Students." Writers and citizens alike were intrigued with plans that called for architects to design a campus for 5,000 students with only four traditional classrooms, and many

of Tirrell's comments were interpreted as grandiloquent pronouncements that to some sounded like technological hocus-pocus.

The source of these diverse reactions was a method of instruction described in the College catalog as a "tutorial" concept stressing supervised self-instruction. A flashy brochure for students and visitors called it a "Learner-Centered Instructional Systems Approach," and noted that this lengthy and imposing name reflected the philosophy that the College was learner-centered. Because no college existed with this total approach, Tirrell and his staff had to borrow from training models in business, industry, and the military. They concluded that student learning was dependent on three factors:

1. motivation is primary,
2. the active learner learns most---and in a shorter time,
3. feedback is necessary to accelerate and raise the quality of learning.

On the basis of these findings, a plan was developed that was learner-centered, used a systems approach to instruction, and featured a learning laboratory and continual feedback. Heavy use would also be made of programmed instructional materials and audio-visual technology. To eliminate some of the mystery Tirrell and his cadre of experts tried to follow Thoreau's dictum to "simplify, simplify, simplify," but often fell into the jargon trap. A student reporter who asked Tirrell to define quality education got this answer:

> Quality education is the successful accomplishment of the maximum amount of demonstrable perceptive, psychomotor, and affective knowledge, by individuals with a wide range of abilities in the minimum amount of time, optimizing the investment of human, physical, equipment and material resources.

A systems approach meant that specific goals or objectives, competencies or performances would be stated in operational terms, and step-by-step plans would be simple or complex depending on the scope of the system, or the duration of the cycle. Translated to an educational environment, the system would provide:

1. Determination of need.
2. Definition of behavioral objectives.
3. Selection and/or development of media.
4. Construction of criterion tests.
5. Conduct of instruction.
6. Measurement of student performance.
7. Evaluation and interpretation of performance vs. objectives.
8. Feedback.
9. Modification of cycles for subsequent cycles.

In common terms, the Oakland people were saying that education is a very complicated business. The model which evolved included a GAS, a SAS, tutorial laboratories, and the vital feedback, defined below as three instructional methods:

> General assemblies that looked like traditional college lectures. In the general assembly sessions (GAS), faculty members lecture, show films, present guest speakers, and attempt to motivate the students by getting them excited about and interested in the subject matter of the course. The general assemblies seem better suited for such motivational activities than for providing information that might be handled as readily with audio tapes or readings.
>
> The learning laboratory where the individual student proceeds through a series of well-defined learning steps.
>
> Tutors are available at all times to whom the student can turn for help or clarification. Students spend most of the their time in these learning laboratories which are organized around major subject-matter areas. In any study unit, the student is told the specific learning objectives for that unit and when he will be evaluated. Additional details are presented in other student handouts prepared by the faculty. Immediate reinforcement (knowledge of results) is provided as the learner proceeds through the learning process. Many scheduled or spontaneous small group sessions (SAS) between faculty and students are held in or near the laboratories. These serve as opportunities for students to interpret materials, to share and exchange opinions, and to demonstrate their level of achievement.

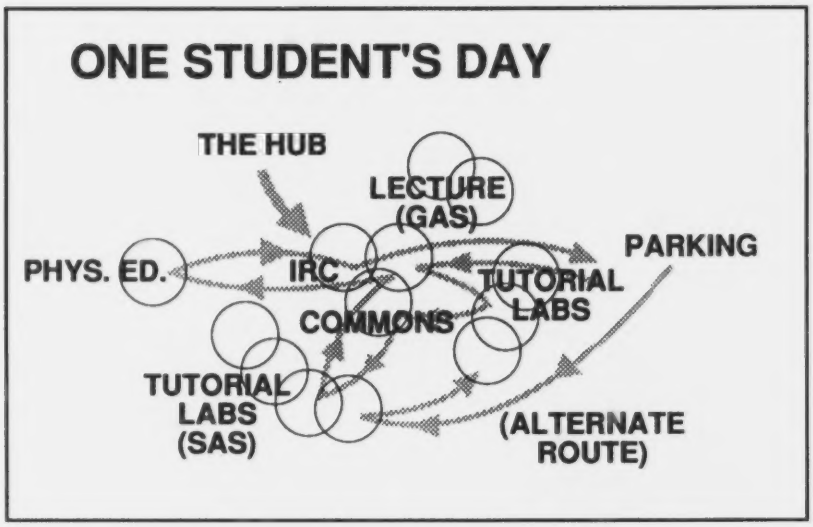
> Feedback is accomplished through a variety of forms: self-tests, short quizzes, and mid-term and final examinations. Such evaluations include essay and objective examinations in groups or individually, as well as individual and small-group oral examinations and demonstrations. Every effort is made to utilize the evaluation techniques which best reflect the objectives, and which provide the student the maximum oppor tunity to demonstrate that he has accomplished the objectives. Feedback data provide the information necessary for the faculty and staff to improve the course materials and to evaluate the adequacy of the objectives.

Although Tirrell and his vice-president for curriculum, Al Canfield, as late as July, 1967, stood firm on the three instructional methods, the faculty was taking a different approach by adding a fourth formal dimension to the model. As noted above, this method, a creation of the faculty, became known as "small assembly sessions" (SAS) and were held weekly. Primarily discussion-quiz sessions in which students had an opportunity to discuss materials of the course and in which they were also tested on what they had learned, the SAS saw questions raised, examined, and course materials evaluated for possible revision. At times, informal, unscheduled, and non-structured sessions were held as by-products of the learning laboratories. Students spent most of their time in study carrels, a three-sided cubicle equipped with equipment for tapes, slides, models, and study guides written with Terminal Performance Specifications (TPS) and Intermediate Performance Specifications (IPS). Tirrell and Canfield made sure that a definitive comparison could be made between the "old" and the "new."

THE CONVENTIONAL APPROACH AND THE OCC INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEMS MODEL FOR EDUCATION

	Conventional	Oakland Community College
Objectives	Non-behavioral, generalized. Student guesses or assumes.	Behavioral, specific, detailed. Given to student at start of term, each unit and study period.
Course Outline	Chapter-topic-textbook-test dates.	Detailed step by step objectives and media chains to be used.
Course Conduct	Three weekly lectures, outside reading, "trouble conferences" arranged.	One weekly assembly, independent self-study, multi-media, small seminar groups, much tutorial assistance.
Grading	Twice a year.	Weekly at least; twice a year summary reports.
Knowledge of Results	Twice a session-long delays. Formal faculty tests, written in group.	Weekly, immediately. Self-testing. Written, oral, group and individual examinations and quizzes.
Emphasis	Teacher Text Tests Grades > Instructional	Learner Multi-media Feedback Achievement > Learning

To get to a learning goal, students could take different paths with some freedom of choice.



Underpinning the technology of this model were the audio-tutorial methods that Dr. Samuel Postlethwaite developed for his biology classes at Purdue University. Tirrell described Postlethwaite as the "patron saint" of OCC and during the initial years an award in his honor was given to outstanding professors. However, the instructional model was modified to the point that by October, 1966 Tirrell remarked in a speech to the Council of North Central Colleges that the term "audio-tutorial" was no longer applicable at OCC.

By the Spring of 1965 over 2,000 students had applied to the new college which still didn't have its innovative approach refined. Tirrell had to turn to outsiders, since no other college used technology at the rate anticipated; if hardware could be procured, his staff would write the software for instruction. Hughes Aircraft had developed videosonic equipment which was available locally through the Howard and Smith Company. This technology could be operated by students in study carrels for synchronized slide-tape units of instruction. Oakland also signed

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The ACCOUSTI/CARREL was designed by Canfield and Levinson; manufactured in Texas, a royalty was paid to them and to the College.

a contract with Howard and Smith to produce 132 programmed instruction books per year, with a purchase of 54,000 to be made each quarter at $1 per copy. An astonishing goal of one new textbook every week was established. To speed the finalizing of the College's opening, Tirrell recommended that Litton Systems Incorporated be contracted by the Board to provide closure to the instructional system and to make recommendations on management. Four months before the College was to open, a contract was approved for Litton to provide the services of systems analysis, staff orientation and training, and programmed self-instructional training materials (to be developed jointly). The College agreed to purchase a minimum of 204,450 of the programmed materials at $2 a piece.

Entitled "A Systems Proposal for the Implementation of OCC's Tutorial Concept," the Litton contract included orientation sessions scheduled for July and August, 1965. These were designed to familiarize the staff with system components and operations, and to "provide periodic training sessions during 1965-66 which will continue until all staff members have received adequate training.

The contract did not delineate who would decide when "adequate training" had been accomplished. While meeting the immediate need, the Litton contract was destined to bring Tirrell headaches because of arguments over terminology and the involvement of faculty who felt a sense of discontinuity over the uncertainty of direction. James Manilla, the College's first historian, explains the condition of anxiety this way:

> Dr. Canfield stressed the importance of a high degree of dependence on display devices for display purposes and emphasized reserving the human for the personal relationship with students. Through this process the faculty member would be used as the great motivator and the essential element for getting students excited about learning. As a result, Litton's active participation in stressing the systems approach, which starts out by writing performance objectives in contrast to the emphasis of the OCC staff on the process, created a lot of confusion in the minds of faculty.
>
> As a participant in the initial Summer workshop, it became apparent as early as the middle of August that Canfield's talks to faculty were designed around the principles of learning, motivation, involvement, and feedback as well as the process of instruction---self-study, independent study, small assembly, lecture---and less and less concern with the evolution of variable outcomes. In the interim, the faculty spent a considerable amount of their time on writing performance objectives and very little effort in emphasis on the process and software. This kind of duality emphasis from an outside agency, Litton, and the internal feeling of the staff hampered the development and completion of the

instructional model prior to the opening of classes in the Fall.

Tirrell accepted these problems as inevitable since "history" was being made, and depending on the feedback aspect of his system, modifications and corrections were also inevitable and natural. The approaching onslaught of students made everything else secondary. And come they did: over 3,800 to the converted Nike base and the renovated TB sanitorium, earning OCC a citation in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. On September 2, 1965 the Detroit FREE PRESS greeted the new college with a glorious, glossy color half-page photo on its front page. (As a harbinger of coming campus complications, page 12 of the same issue included an account that two acres of marijuana valued at $2,000 was burned by authorities in nearby Macomb County).

Faculty and staff were just as excited and enthusiastic as their President, believing that they were part of something truly unique in the history of education. Recalling those early days, several wrote about the spirit and atmosphere at the new college:

English Professor: When I came to OCC the physical facilities (in the old trailers at Auburn) were unimpressive but the people were warm and friendly. In Communications/Humanities four new faculty members were jammed into an office so tiny that to get in or out, one had to ask the others to move. The next year we moved into the big central area and had our desks in sort of a "bullpen." Class schedules allowed for lunch hours so many of us went to lunch together. We had a faculty lounge with broken-down, old furniture where we had a lot of conversation with students and each other. I thought it was the best job I'd ever had...and still do. In October, the sign in front of the Auburn campus reading "OCC" was painted over to read "Nike U."

Biology Instructor: There was a great deal of excitement, optimism and enthusiasm (too much?) about the new audio-tutorial method of instruction among the faculty. The set-your-own-pace concept seemed like a great idea. Unfortunately, the students we got that first year were in no way able to handle that amount of responsibility for their own work. I think it was amazing though that the faculty and the administration could pull this whole thing together and create a school in this image. It was a fantastic experiment. The faculty were all innovative, open-minded

people or they wouldn't have been here. That's not a general characteristic of faculties in higher education. Great that they could find so many professionals with terrific energy.

Foreign Language tutor: Adventuresome, enthusiastic, high morale, fast-moving. Adaptation ability needed; rapid changes as the College grew and developed. A dominant spirit of camaraderie.

Vocational/technical Professor: Adventure and challenging. Just getting to class was often an unbelievable chore. Tip-toeing through the chaos of renovation, walking under scaffolds full of workers, bricks and mortar. My first class was in a building where carpetlayers were listening to the World Series, slamming carpet stretchers, and alternately cheering and cussing both activities. We were warned to avoid speaking to the workers for fear they would quit. It really was great fun.

Librarian: Excitement, open-mindedness, willingness to forget tradition. Great men (Tirrell, Sam Postlethwaite, Lamar Johnson). I was a 49-year-old but felt like a teenager.

Business Manager: Spirit was wild, free. Many faculty were new in a college situation, learning themselves, developing a new teaching style, creating course packages. Administrators were "learning on the job" what the two-year local college was all about and how to deal with problems. Of course, the real guinea pigs were the first students.

Board Member: A tremendous esprit de corp. The institution was alive and vibrant with an attitude of teamwork. Time and effort were generously given by employees without request for additional compensation---there was an air of excitement about this educational venture.

Math Professor: There was an atmosphere of experimentation and excitement in the new approach to teaching. The Tutorial System implemented during the first few years was particularly helpful to students---especially in mathematics. In the small sessions we learned to know students better and to help them in special ways. Many students would not have attended college if we had not been available.

Psychology Instructor: The prospect and promise of free to innovate was intoxicating. There was a "go for it" attitude that prevailed and supported me while I experimented with instructional models. It enabled me to develop my own style and model that I still rely on. I became a good teacher because I was allowed to learn how by trial and error. I am still learning how and am still innovative.

Hoping to instill this atmosphere of excitement into the new student body, Tirrell retained an element of the traditional with his huge, enthusiastic mass of learners. Different in the way it taught them, Oakland was as collegiate as any other commuter college: student activities quickly developed as fraternities and sororities donned togas, queens were chosen, student directories were printed, sports teams were outfitted, rock bands performed at dance contests, and annual yearbooks were sent off to the publisher.* As Tirrell made the rounds of his two bustling campuses and watched bulldozers at a third one under construction, he could smile with satisfaction. His face muscles would be overworked in that task as visitors came from around the country, and the world, to view the developments. Fame appeared on the horizon: Tirrell was in demand at conferences, far and wide, journals and newspapers carried his opinions and judgments, and he hosted most of the visiting dignitaries himself. Many of those who came to see would take ideas with them to replicate or modify the Oakland model for their own institutions. The Oakland story was put on film as part of the Litton contract and "New Paths to Learning" was available for seekers all over the U.S. Midway through Tirrell's tenure a CBS film crew came to the College to capture part of the flare for Walter Cronkite's description of "The Classroom in 2001." A writer for THE TIMES of London described the OCC happenings as "the most exciting and progressive development in a country which is investing a good deal of thought and money in the introduction of technology as a means of dealing with educational technology...."

Fame came, too, in less noticed ways: by December, 1966, Litton had delivered its quota of 57 programmed books, and Howard and Smith had completed 52 texts making OCC the "largest producer of programmed books in the country." Titles were available in almost every academic area in addition to technical manuals for nursing, mechanical design, and secretarial science. Despite the fact that faculty wrote most of these texts, Manilla notes that

these programmed materials were mostly ignored in their teaching. Later the College would attempt to sell the booklets to other institutions and would eventually discard the surplus at a loss to the taxpayers.

Behind the facade of good news, troubles were lurking as Tirrell had anticipated but had been unable to prevent. Neither the President or Board of Trustees wanted to deny admission to any applicant, so all qualified comers were accepted. For a system based on hardware and paper units, too many students meant trouble. Even though most faculty and staff had been aboard two months before the College opened, and most had participated in the Litton orientations and subsequent staff meetings, those hired later were not as well indoctrinated. Suitable materials for all courses were not ready for the Fall opening, and course objectives that appeared clearly written in August confused students a month later. Faculty members, overwhelmed with students and facing insufficient lead time in revising course materials, worked long hours optimistically hoping the system would work and that catch-up time would be found. Logistical problems with the printshop, procurement of equipment, the repair of videosonics, and the delivery of materials sapped the energy of staff. Lack of resources forced conscientious faculty to resort to conventional teaching approaches, even the dreaded lecture method at times. For Tirrell and his administrators, a lot of time was spent in playing "catch-up." In addition to the typical problems of opening a new college, they now had to contend with almost 4,000 warm bodies at two separate locations while planning a third, multi-million dollar campus that shortly would bring another 3,000.

Because there were few dormitories at two-year colleges, and none at Oakland, getting to the campuses posed problems for some. This issue was among the earliest discussed by Tirrell and his staff (January 5, 1965). Because the Board had been unable to establish a campus in the County's most densely-populated area, the southeast, it was sensitive to transportation complications. For the September, 1965 opening, four 50-passenger buses were leased, but following a 25-day trial period, the service was discontinued due to non-use. Only 35 students were regular riders and the cost became prohibitive: expenses were $3,161 with only $225 taken in as revenue. Public transit was eventually sought for campus service after a legal opinion determined that the College could not operate a bus company. The issue would be raised again following the Detroit riot in 1967 as attempts were made to increase minority enrollment.

Getting students to campuses was less a problem that getting them to attend a GAS or SAS, and to study. Record crowds of students appeared during the first weeks, but as work became reality numbers dwindled when the independent nature of self-instruction took its toll. Admitted through the open door, most

of the first students had graduated in the lower half of their high school classes and would not have been accepted elsewhere. Numbers strained the capacity of a small staff to have personal interaction, and media shortages and delays caused some student frustrations. And, as students tried to adjust, their parents wondered what was going on. A counselor reported that a number of myths about the College had to be overcome: "Parents frequently complained that they didn't want their child to come to OCC because there was no contact with teachers. Those with offspring already enrolled were concerned that they did not bring home large quantities of homework, and they did not have enough understanding of our approach to believe that work was being done on the campus." This counselor suggested that an orientation session for parents could remedy this confusion. Tirrell and his campus heads responded by sponsoring "open houses" in October, 1965 that attracted 2,700 parents and students. But parent concerns weren't the only ones the President had to respond to: in November the Auburn Hills student newspaper, THE NIKE, printed a petition which had been signed by 400 students and presented to the administration. It read:

> When in the course of student affairs, it becomes necessary for one people to question the present intent which has connected them to their faculty and administration, and to assume their rights and corresponding responsibilities as individual persons, a decent respect to the original intent of this education as student-oriented requires that these students wish to declare the causes which impel them to this petition.
>
> 1. That some areas of instruction contain material that si humanly impossible to learn within given time limits.
> 2. That Oakland Community College is understaffed in almost all areas of instruction.
> 3. That there is a lack of materials with glib and rebuffing excuses replacing them.
> 4. That actual learning is not occurring, but effective techniques of cramming are being quickly mastered.
> 5. That carrel areas are not adequate or suitable places for most intensive study.
> 6. That tutorial assistance is frustratingly blocked for both students and teachers by the above anti-OCC situations.
> 7. That availability and organization of study materials are not flexible enough to allow for sincere independent study.
> 8. That multi-media is becoming obsolete and might fearfully be replaced by multi-media people.
> 9. That, essentially, we are not learning and did not come to OCC to "get the facts, only the facts."
>
> We, therefore, the student body of Oakland Community

College, Highland Lakes campus, appeal to the faculty, counselors, and administration to re-establish or re-evaluate this institution as student-oriented and tutorial. We desire to be treated as individual persons and likewise meet our faculty as persons rather than course numbers or social security numbers. We wish to attend the OCC we enrolled in last September and temporarily slow down so that we may be human and find ourselves. May we, the student body, confer with said faculty, counselors, and administrators?

Pictured on the front page of this inaugural NIKE issue, Tirrell stated that he "was taking this petition very seriously" and was pleased that "students are concerned about things that have a bearing upon their education." Directing his staff to make corrections, Tirrell had more structure added to the model: testing was regularized, attendance at GAS's became mandatory, and extensive efforts were made to provide adequate supplies of instructional materials. However, Dr. Canfield argued that required attendance would move the College back to lecture-type teaching. There were some campus variations even though the President strove for uniformity: research showed that small assemblies (SAS) were more widely used at Highland than at Auburn. He foresaw the need for ongoing in-service training of faculty and better professional help in audio-visual media areas but was unable to solve these completely.* Although improvements were made, the HIGHLAND NEWS would ask at the beginning of the Winter semester, 1966, "Where Have All the Tutors Gone?" and claim that "Leaders (Administrators) Hinder Learning." Again directing his deans to get faculty responses and suggestions for improvement, Tirrell received a report that listed these recommendations:

1. That effective research guidelines be established to give direction and uniformity in data gathering.

2. That the College Policies and Procedures Manual be updated.

3. That an instructional systems manual be prepared by OCC in order to eliminate the confusion and misunderstanding of the learning situation.

4. That the faculty be involved in policy-making.

5. That faculty rank be clarified: traditional or new ranking order based upon the present systems approach to learning.

* Dr. Donald Godbold of the new Orchard Ridge campus reported in 1968 that they were establishing in-service activities that would "attempt to indoctrinate a systems approach for the sessions; i.e., something related to a SAS-type activity." (President's Executive Council minutes, June 9, 1968).

6. That a College-wide faculty evaluation team be selected.

7. That in order to utilize the faculty properly in learning situations, establish meaningful job descriptions, continue the in-service training and allow more faculty participation in the planning of courses.

8. That a detailed investigation be made to determine functional means of establishing communication between Central administration and Campus, and explore the best and most consistent possibilities.

9. That a College-wide grading scale be adopted.

10. That a re-evaluation be made of all the present student evaluation procedures.

11. That a Testing Bureau be established.

12. That a well-planned advisement program be adopted.

13. That the role and function of Howard and Smith, and Litton, be made known to the faculty.

It was clear to Tirrell that faculty as well as students were seeking more structure, a possible detriment to the model which stressed flexibility. However, some modifications and corrections were made.

Still, the gallows humor and inevitable graffiti found expression in newspapers and on bathroom stalls as students made creative reference to the audio-tutorial "classroom" experience.

For college fun, get GASsed!
Don't SAS yo' Momma.
Be sure to pass GAS.

Have you heard? About the student who was having trouble with his Carol? Now he studies.
About the student who was working along at his own speed and found out that the test was yesterday?
About the funeral services being held next Friday for the student who was trampled in the eight o'clock rush on the Math Lab?
About the total insecurity complex of OCC students who always know where they stand in grading?

To much of this biting humor President Tirrell could grin imperturbably, continue to struggle for the experiment's success, and maintain his exhausting schedule until the landmark year came to an end. Surely there were problems that Tirrell saw as challenges, some publicity that was uncomplimentary, and new paths to trod, but innovative history had been made. At year's end, Professor Jim Bradner gave a retrospective in the Auburn FACULTY FACTS:

> Just how high was your personal cloud when this College started? I know that my own was one of those vacillating gobs---up one day and down the next. We had trouble with just about everything we could have trouble with, didn't we? There was the little thing about not being able to get the printed material on time (or any time for that matter), which led to a good deal of learning of the bootleg printers art. There was the little problem of the students' inability to get carrel space at just the time they wanted it, and grousing about it; there was the small but hard-to-see item of no lights in the carrels; and there was the noise, which is with us yet. There was the mud, the bad roads, heat which was either too bad or too good, etc., ad nauseam. I get a little sick thinking about the whole thing.
>
> On the other hand, Winston Churchill did not choose the prettiest of times or places to talk about "Finest Hour" or valor, or the greatness of human spirit. As a professional educator, I can deplore poor conditions all I want to; but I have to look at what has been done to this sea of mud and cheer for all concerned. I have to cheer the administration for the job it has done of holding up faculty morale, I have to cheer the faculty for the job it has done of being a very hard-working faculty, and I have to cheer the students for putting up with not only the sea of mud, the parking restrictions and poor facilities, but for the griping of the faculty

> in their presence. In the face of all this, I have got to say that a short step backward for perspective has netted me rather a breathtaking view of just what has been accomplished here.

There would be other memories to record along with those of individual staff and students:

- Articulation pacts were signed with universities agreeing to transfer OCC credits.

- Visitors from the North Central Accreditation Association would give a qualified endorsement to what was occurring at the College. At a later date the important battle for accreditation would be fought.

- A full-page (free) ad in TIME magazine pictured a student (really OCC Professor Clay Roth) with equipment proceeding at "my own pace, my own time, my own responsibility."

- Thousands of students returned for a second year, hundreds transferred to universities, and countless numbers went into the labor market.

- In an act of dedication using technology, Professor Charles Nelson would conduct his GAS at Highland by telephone from an Air National Guard base in Texas, where he was doing a two-week tour of duty. The two-way loudspeaker-telephone hookup provided student-instructor interaction.

- To the surprise of almost all, a four percent bonus was paid to all full-time and part-time employees of the College on December 13, 1967. Only one letter of thanks would come to Tirrell and the Board: Professor Gerald Faye would "express my personal thanks for your forward-looking act of granting the faculty this cost-of-living emolument."

Although there was a wide range of successes during the first year, there were some disappointments that occurred but which would earn little publicity:

- In a memo to administrators Tirrell would lament the tele-

  phone system which "shunted callers from campus to campus" and to his subordinates would command: "I expect that you will tighten this telephone service at all locations at all times."

- A lover of football, Tirrell believed that the sport would help give visibility to the College but the Board considered a $21,000 price tag excessive. The Highland Lakes student

newspaper praised the President's efforts and congratulated him for "accepting defeat gracefully." Football would eventually come to the College as a club activity, not an intercollegiate sport.

Tirrell would have to wait years for one of his principal ideas to be brought to fruition at the College: the use of computers. He hired Thomas Auch as Director of Systems in February, 1965, and told the Board that "with 12-15,000 students coming we must plan for the most advanced data-processing and, in fact, have all systems available for use by the computer." In March he invited the local press to the Auburn campus to witness a computer terminal "talk" with one in New York about courses to be offered by technology. A month later Tirrell told a national conference at Columbia University:

> We will have a small computer by this Fall to do our own administrative kinds of things, student records and grade reporting, and we will have an instructional program in data processing. This whole bit that I have told you about, developing packages, developing program learning materials, is a background for the day when you can put these into computer memory, you can put these into various kinds of formats, and, as you know, the computer can be a big switch and show audio and video materials as well as just typing out rather standard questions.
>
> I visualize somewhere down the line that we will have a central instructional resource center with a large computer which will feed all three campuses with this kind of material.
>
> And, here, gentlemen, I think here is where the real revolution in education will take place. The fact that you can store in there for each student that he is the first person in his family to go to college, he comes from Hazel Park High, he had two years of English, and then we look at what kind of problems and what kind of learning difficulties he has and maybe even an item analysis in English or the like. We look at the next youngster and we have stored that he is a third-generation college attendee, he went to Bloomfield Hills High and had four years of English, and then we can develop a model and a pattern.

The President's dream was shared by faculty interested in the possibilities of computer-assisted instruction (CAI). One professor wrote the following December: "We now have perhaps the highest concentration of experts in the field of programming and course development in the world." He then delineated a crystal ball image of what could be accomplished in the near future:

> I envision programs so well set up that instructors will spend all of their time at discussion, captivating and interesting the minds of those who wish to learn.
>
> I envision computers storing programs in their memories, printing these out at the request of the student who identifies himself by his I.D. card.
>
> I envision the computer giving short answer tests, grading them, and recording the grades, leaving the professor to evaluate a student's progress on the basis of a great deal of personal involvement.

To help bring reality to this vision, Tirrell would direct his staff to write a grant proposal in March, 1966 for a two-year period amounting to $1,581,025. The proposal claimed that "CAI awaits the training of a group of subject matter specialists and the availability of a substantial number of programs. OCC provides an unparalleled opportunity to implement CAI because extensive software has been developed prior to the purchase of a computer." Although the grant request was not funded, some of this thinking would be considered in the planning of the new Orchard Ridge campus, scheduled for Fall, 1967, and in searching for a fourth campus site in the southeastern part of the College district.

Tirrell had been embroiled in a number of political battles with officials in Royal Oak, Berkley, Madison Heights, and Oak Park (all potential locations for the desired fourth campus) in attempting to find a suitable location in the most heavily populated quadrant of the county. Board members told Manilla that this was the one piece of business that had come before them more than any other and over a longer period of time. Tirrell was not to be pressured or bamboozled by petitions, politicians, or citizens' pressure groups. Cost of property was a principal concern and a long list of possible locations was narrowed to 21 sites by November, 1966. Property was purchased in the city of Madison Heights, and the Board eventually settled on a Royal Oak location by buying a deserted supermarket and a Salvation Army building. Complete campus development there would occur several years later and classes would be offered in rented facilities until then.

At the moment, the county spotlight was focused on Orchard Ridge, an $18 million facility designed specifically for the systems approach so dear to the President's heart. Rising above the apple orchard trees, the spectacular buildings won a national design award for the architects. Sporting a California-

appearance with modern clerestory windows, the campus was an architect's dream---and a student's nightmare. All the buildings looked alike and with letter names (A,B,C,D, etc.) took on the look of an Army camp moderne. Brick, same; carpet, same; interior painting, same: newcomers to the campus were lulled into being lost in a sea of sameness. Tirrell saw this facility as the fulfillment of two and a-half years of labor and a myriad of struggles to alter the face of higher education. The famous four classrooms for an expected 5,000 students would house about 150 students each. Even though the teaching faculty would ultimately be moving to teaching smaller groups, Tirrell's staff would plan similar buildings at Auburn Hills with the same size and with immovable walls.

Even though Orchard would be frosting on the President's innovative cake, the center piece would be mounted on April 23, 1967, when 141 students participated in the College's landmark Commencement. Though small in number, Tirrell noted that these students had perservered to be the first graduates of what he hoped would be a changed and improved college experience for all. The following Spring, the PONTIAC PRESS in a three-part series, stated that "OCC Taking Lead in Learning Field."

A month later Jack Tirrell resigned as President of Oakland Community College.

Suddenly and unexpectedly, Tirrell informed the Board officially on April 30, 1968 that he was leaving his $32,000 post (the highest public official's salary in the County). With the College booming in enrollment, with public relations pretty positive, with the experimental system becoming more refined, why would the President suddenly resign?

A colleague explained that Tirrell was "bored with the day-by-day business of running the College." There were rumors that the Board was unhappy with his outside consulting which generated "more money in a weekend ($1,000) than he could make all week here." His celebrated rapport with the Board had diminished when he took independent action such as hiring Wally Nikkel from Macomb College to be his business officer without Board sanction. A harbinger of his reluctance to always inform his "employers" was noted very early in his OCC career: in a memo to the Board on December 15, 1965 he requested retroactive approval of a $2,172 contract to move the administrative staff from Highland to the Bee property in Bloomfield Hills. In addition, there was some flak over the extravagance of spending on the new Orchard facility with its 971 gaslights (the largest installation of its kind in the world), and many feathers were ruffled by deliberations on a fourth campus site. Tirrell's impatience with criticism was obvious when the State Attorney General ruled that he must resign as a director of the Birmingham-Bloomfield Bank:

> I do this with reluctance, for I believe it is an added indication of harassment of educational boards and a continued attempt to succumb to the wishes of elected and appointed bureaucrats.

The exodus of several other OCC officials had preceded the President's decision; these announcements, along with publicity that promised an educational miracle, were certainly factors in his decision. Writing years later, Tirrell stated that the unfulfilled promises "drove nails in my coffin."

In a two-page statement to the Board the departing chief executive explained his decision: "With the receipt of the North Central Association approval of Candidacy for Membership in April, the two basic objectives we started working on three years ago have been realized. First, the establishment of a high quality, comprehensive educational program on three separate campuses, and, second, to demonstrate a new approach to instruction as a model for higher education. The North Central examiner's report said in the conclusion this was a 'herculean effort' and the official letter from the Association indicated this was accomplished by 'strong administrative leadership and a competent faculty.'" Concluding with typical hyperbole, the seasoned administrator exclaimed: "I believe that OCC can be not only one of the most significant two-year colleges in the country, but in all of higher education."

A banner headline in the Royal Oak DAILY TRIBUNE trumpeted "Oakland College Boss Quits," and cited "unrest, time conflict" as the reasons for leaving. The accompanying picture showed Tirrell, with his ubiquitous cigar, at the Board meeting. A follow-up story asked: was Tirrell "an extraordinary educational developer or an intellectual rough-rider?" Judgments about him were still incomplete at the time but the parting appeared amicable; Trustee Chairman George Mosher stated: "This whole matter has been discussed with the Board over the past couple weeks, and before, and it is with a great deal of regret that we have agreed to release you as President." The only bone of contention reported in the TRIBUNE was Tirrell's position as director of a fee-paid consulting firm, Planning and Consulting for Education (PACE) which may have conflicted with his full-time responsibilities. Mosher explained that the PACE affiliation had been mutually agreed upon with the proviso that there be no interference with the President's OCC tasks.

But, was there more to the story?

Official records show that differences cropped up early. On March 14, 1968 Tirrell had been excused from the Board meeting and wrote the following memo to the College attorney, the Board Secretary, and the Director of Public Relations:

> At the earliest possible date I am requesting you, individually, to write a narrative description of the events that led up to the exiting of Dr. Hergenroeder, Dr. Whited, (both Provosts), Dr. Harlacher (vice-president), and myself from the Board Study Session last evening. I think it is most important that you do this as soon as possible, with the events fresh in your minds.
>
> Since there is a possibility of future action in this regard, I want to make it clear that I am directing each of you to write this as an employee of the College. I would also request that each of you keep a copy of the narrative prepared for your own files in case of future action.

While there were no responses to this request found, the "future action" alluded to became reality on April 25 with a letter from Kenneth McConnell on the legal firm of Hartman, Beier, Howlett, and McConnell to the Board of Trustees:

> The purpose of this letter is to advise you of our retention by Dr. John E. Tirrell to aid and assist him with respect to the resolution of all matters relating to his current three-year employment contract which expires June 30, 1970.
>
> A review of the Board Minutes discloses that this employment contract provided for annual compensation in the approximate sum of $43,239 (with fringe benefits, car, and housing allowance) per year for the two-year period commencing July 1, 1968 through June 30, 1970.
>
> We respectfully submit the following suggested amendments to Dr. Tirrell's employment contract:
>
> 1. That the Board immediately relieve Dr. Tirrell from all of his contract responsibilities except as hereinafter described and co-incident therewith cause to be paid to him the cash sum of $39,934 being one full year contract benefits less the $2,100 home allowance, and rent thereon of $1,200 per year, right of occupancy thereto to terminate June 30, 1969, and his right to use the College's car to terminate forthwith.
> 2. That Dr. Tirrell's two months of earned vacation be used by him commencing May 1, 1968 through June 30, 1968 with payment of full current salary and fringe benefits to be continued by the Board.
> 3. That the Board at the same time cause to be escrowed with an appropriate banking institution the additional cash sum of $32,000 with directions that it be paid

over to Dr. Tirrell January 2, 1969 upon receipt of a letter from him to it and the Board of Trustees certifying as follows:

A. That he has held himself available to serve as a consultant to the College on all reasonable resolution requests of its Board of Trustees during said period ___ days per month.

B. That he shall prepare and submit to the Board a report covering his findings respecting (1) progress of "Thinkbelt" and "Fun Palaces" in England; (2) tutorial and technological education practices currently being utilized in England, France, and Italy; and (3) also the current state of development respecting vocational and technical training programs in these countries.

We stand ready and are most willing to fully aid and assist in an early and amicable, fair, and equitable resolution of this matter.

An informal Board meeting was convened on the evening of April 25 at which attorney McConnell appeared to represent the President. Minutes of that meeting read in part:

Mr. McConnell stated that it was his understanding that the Board had indicated its desire to replace Dr. Tirrell as OCC President adding that this sort of thing as been done before and suggested talking honestly since both are acting in good faith. He indicated that it will be his function to aid and assist Dr. Tirrell and his family by not making a scrap out of this and fair and honest judgment will determine his recommendations.

Mr. McConnell requested that this announcement (of the meeting) be made in a public meeting in the form of a resolution. Mr. Mosher said that though he (Tirrell) would be relieved of his duties and subsequently replaced, but to do this with formal action would not be in his interests. The Board would not want to harm his reputation by doing this in public. We would like him to announce that he would like to resign. Mr. McConnell stated that this would compromise his position, if he does not do this it leaves no alternative. A Board member stated that Dr. Tirrell has made a national reputation and we do not wish to harm it. He has a creative career ahead of him.

Board thought is that though Dr. Tirrell is relieved of his duties the contract would be maintained on the present monthly basis because they do not want it to look like he is fired. But we must be searching for a new president.

It was emphatic that the Board was moving on to a new leader while making appreciative statements in public about their old one. Tirrell requested the Secretary to transcribe these words of praise and sent them via his attorney. The legal document signed on April 30, paid him $41,139 plus two months salary ($3,200), gave two months accrued vacation time, and allowed him use of the Bee property home until June 30, 1969. These proceedings would set a pattern for future Presidents who, in turn, would seek legal counsel in dealing with the College Trustees.

Judging the Man, the Model, and the Dream

It might appear that the man with the dream about innovation had been transformed in four years from a respected change-agent to a pallid pariah. To some, Tirrell appeared a manipulator of public opinion and to others a charlatan. Admittedly, there had been a degree of fluff: within the next five years several research studies would investigate major changes in education and make no mention of Oakland Community College. To these slights Tirrell might agree with Noel Coward ("I love criticism just so long as it's unqualified praise"), but he had a better explanation. In several speeches over the years he had said: "The innovator finds plenty of critics in his departure from conventional practice. If they are in a field of education, they might be asked what evidence and data they have to support what they are doing. Only the innovator needs evidence, the others can rely on tradition and custom." Those who knew him well would agree. The Birmingham ECCENTRIC editorialized that "a man worth his salt is usually controversial....It is too bad that John E. Tirrell is leaving the scene, but we should be thankful for what he has done for us and remember him, not as a man who caused controversy, but as a man responsible for the fine educational system he put together."

Tirrell may have written his own future epitaph when he was asked at Columbia University in July, 1965, "Do you believe this method of learning will become practice in higher education, say, in 20 years?" The now-departing President had responded at the time:

> It is difficult to project, but we feel we're going in that direction. Industry and some military services already use this technique with success. Graduate schools utilize the seminar system. Our problem is to bring this down to the undergraduate level.
>
> With more "war babies" in school, we can't afford large classes where students are only a number. They need to relate to the instructor as closely as possible. I don't know of any responsible educator who would oppose this method, but to predict its common usage would be too difficult.

Because of his departure, concluded historian Manilla, it will never really be known whether the system as originally conceived by Tirrell, would ever have achieved its mission. But, as with any topic, there will be opinions. Staff who served the College during the Tirrell years were surveyed on the reasons why the audio-tutorial, systems experiment had trouble.

Counselor: Materials and hardware were inadequate.
We failed to keep an ongoing monitor system of how effective each resource was working.
We failed to provide personal interaction, follow-up and assessment of registered students.
We reached desperately for explanations without verification and without a systematic approach.

English Tutor: Poorly conceived to begin with. Possibly worked well for Sam Postlethwaite, but that was one zealous individual in one particular discipline.
Essentially untested prior to implementation at OCC.
Presumptuous to implement on a mass scale without adequate pilot work and a phasing-in plan, to say nothing of sufficient budgeting.
Poor administrative follow-through. Inadequate orientation of later staff, inadequate assistance of a technical nature, equipment breakdown without good maintenance, near chaos on occasion in the chain of command.

Math Professor: The promise was never fulfilled. Implied in audio-tutorial was multi-media. It was never that.
You read or you looked, but never both over the same material. The source for information was one or the other (with tapes and filmstrips that were poorly prepared.
The boring monotony of programmed books (which did not let you choose your own pace). The lack of such books for many courses (the advanced ones in particular).
Finally, the lack of human contact to encourage, to guide and support. GAS and SAS's were a poor substitute.

Speech Instructor: Technology (software vs. hardware) was not readily available, and was ill-suited, non-applicable in existing form or format, or was too costly to develop.
Costs: beyond primary costs of buildings and initial capital outlays for hardware. What it would have taken financially to develop A-V materials/software, consulting/developing costs, would have been substantial (to pro-

duce reasonably professional-level stuff).
Tradition vs. innovation: Traditionally-trained and educated faculty, staff, students were entrusted with far-reaching innovative experiment. Growing doubts about the substance, purpose, efficacy of audio-tutorial as the major means of educating.
Leadership failure: failure to indoctrinate missionary/believers among the doers.

Audio-Visual Technician: It was not supported by central administration. They talked about audio, but never bought the audio equipment to support the program. Our A-V technicians were very skilled men but they only had rubber bands and shadows to work with.
Central Office was more interested in public relations than with the students.
Campus administrators and faculty needed financial and political support to realize the dream. The concept was great, but Central Office neglected to support it, much to everyone's disillusionment.

Science Instructor: The typical community college student was not able to handle the independence implicit in an audio-tutorial, multi-media, self-paced model of instruction.
The model demanded a high level of self-discipline, a high degree of instruction, and at least an average level of academic preparation. Most of our students possessed none of these attributes.
If the experiment were repeated, even with adequate funding and appropriate academic leadership, it would once again fail.

Vocational Tutor: Attendance was optional; so few attended. Students who came to OCC were not the most motivated scholars in Michigan.
Each instructor had too many students to deal with, and we never really diagnosed what was needed. TPS's and IPS's were good goals but what else was needed?

History Professor: Insufficient financial resources: too small a staff, materials and supplies not available, and not enough time for course development.
Lack of technical expertise: teachers not trained in development of A-V and those

"experts" that were present were out-of-date in terms of knowledge. Therefore, we produced bad stuff which discouraged people.
Abusive leadership: administrators blamed or abused course coordinators for failing to fulfill a goal which was impossible; therefore encouraged revolt.

Library Tutor: Inadequate development; no opportunity to test-and-revise before implementation.
Materials and equipment late---sometimes not showing up at all.
Equipment failure---right away, high frequency and inadequate technical support, making repair problematic.
To high expectations: we kept hoping that the toad would turn into a prince.

Librarian: Much of it was put together hurriedly and did not conform to the teaching style of every instructor with regard to sequence, etc.
So many additional references were needed that it was difficult for students to gain access to them in time for the assignments.
Trying to teach without complete course packages and programmed materials became a melange of horrors. IPS's went unfurnished, classes were scheduled for testing dates without the tests being available.

While Tirrell could possibly lament such memories that spelled failure, when one enters student academic success into the formula, progress was made during his years at the College. A summary of final grade distributions of students since 1965 revealed considerable improvement:

	A	B	C	D	F	WP	WF	INC.
Fall, 1965	6.6	15.2	18.2	6.1	19.6	18.5	7.3	11.0
Fall, 1967	9.7	18.1	20.1	8.9	17.4	3.2	1.2	4.0

During Tirrell's tenure the research showed that students who dropped out left for employment and personal reasons rather than because of poor achievement or expulsion. Working as a counselor at the time, I ran a seminar for students on academic probation and found that heavy loads at outside jobs were contributing factors for failure. Also, a basic cause was the reluctance of College administrators to recognize the importance of reading skills.

While major efforts were exerted to develop course packages, with self-pacing, detailed units, Tirrell's plan gave little attention to students' reading speed, comprehension, and the attendant writing skills needed for success in college. An early Howard and Smith publication by Dr. Canfield entitled STUDYING TO LEARN AND REMEMBER used such terms as module, diagnostic, synthesizing, mnemonics, psychomotor, concomitant, and delineating. There was a faulty assumption that average high school graduates, not atypical of community college students across the nation, could adjust to new, and higher, vocabulary levels. This conclusion was reflected in the Highland Lakes ANNUAL REPORT in 1966: it noted that counselors heard a "catharsis of negativism concerning our school system" and that the Basic English program had great difficulties because it lacked "a clearly-defined purpose---either developmental or merely supportive; it also has been due to lack of an adequate testing program."

So, on the wings of some successes and some failures, Jack Tirrell would take flight from the OCC that he had created. What the various commentators on the state of the College did not know in May, 1968 was that the incomplete dreams of the founding president would segue into the realm of another dreamer with some different experimental ideas.

4

Joe Hill's Dream for the College

To be great is not to be placed above humanity, ruling others, but to stand above the partialities and futilities of uninformed desire and to rule one's self. Spinoza

Remember not the former things, neither consider the things of old. Behold I am doing a new thing; even now it is springing to light. Do you not perceive it? Book of Isaiah

With slashing insight, the Royal Oak TRIBUNE in September, 1968 trumpeted Dr. Joseph E. Hill's ascension to Oakland's presidency with the headline "Hill Jogs Into County College Post With Sporty Ideas." In these nine words the reporter had captured the essence of Joe Hill for he was a "man on the run," possessing ideas that challenged people's thinking. Simply put, he was the most brilliant person I've ever worked with and several of us used "sporty idea" phrases to cover the fact that many times we didn't understand what our boss was saying. One example will suffice: early in his career at Oakland I asked President Hill to speak at the annual Honors Convocation. Instead of making the expected welcoming comments, "nice job" remarks, the new leader launched into a 20-minute description of future inventions (under the caption that honor students would determine the future) one of which was an electro-magnetic tube that would carry people from Detroit to Michigan's capital, Lansing, in seven minutes (presently an hour's drive). When he finished, the stunned audience sat on its hands; none of the 450 honorees understood what he was describing. Almost 20 years later TIME magazine would have a cover story on superconductivity detailing almost exactly what Hill had lectured on in 1970. It was easy to see that Joseph E. Hill was certainly a different kind of dreamer.

When the Board was looking for Jack Tirrell's replacement its qualities criteria included a "desire to make the instructional system of OCC successful, with such refinements and revisions as experience may show to be desirable." A similar list suggested by the faculty stated that the President "shall support innovation and experimentation in education." Selected from a field of 25

candidates, Hill seemed to fit the bill as he exemplified Earl McGrath's cry for daring chief executive officers:

> Our colleges and universities cannot provide the creative services indispensable in any dynamic society if their highest offices are occupied by those who either have no new ideas, or more likely, are prevented from trying them out in the academic establishment over which they preside.

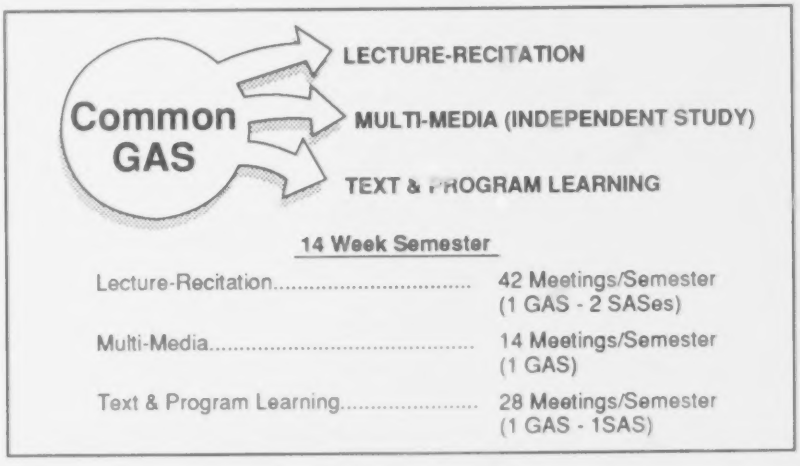
A native of Detroit, Hill had a surfeit of ideas which he had tried out as associate dean of graduate studies at Wayne State University, as math instructor at Lawrence Institute of Technology, and as chairman of the math department at the Detroit Institute of Technology. Well-grounded in academic studies, he had earned a bachelor's degree at prestigious Albion College, a master's at Wayne State, where he stayed on to complete a doctorate in statistics and research design. His understanding of the broader world was enlarged by three years' service in the U.S. Navy, and his "rah-rah" view of personal development and competition by college coaching stints in football, basketball, and track. Although he looked a coach with his greying crewcut and stout build, Hill was a genius underneath, an intellectual who could talk at length on almost any topic. Unlike most former football coaches, he was known to devour scientific and research journals on a weekly basis squirreling away bits of esoteric trivia for later retrieval. The year before leaving Wayne, the University Press published his book, MODELS, METHODS AND ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. Accompanying his keen mind was a clever ability to use humor. A Board member described this skill that was used to great advantage: "Joe's wit and laid-back attitude made it difficult for the Trustees to reject most of his recommendations."

The new President could not have picked a better time to come to Oakland County: during this period the College would be able to use the phrase "A Decade of Progress, 1964-74" in its publications, indicating stability. Growth in student statistics was unbelievable: the 1967 enrollment of 5,487 boomed to 10,024 the following Fall. Added to these positives were the challenges of working with a new faculty union and finishing the drive for full North Central accreditation. A battler who seldom pulled punches, Hill would see many places where his boundless energy could be profitably used. When it came to the task of improving education through research (to which Hill had dedicated his life), the new President agreed with H.L. Mencken: "For every difficult and complex problem there is an easy and simple solution...and it is always wrong." As an indication of this complexity, Hill, on being offered the job, asked the Board for 10 days to explain and begin implementing a "conceptual framework." The Board must have been impressed for this dynamo, hired in 1968, would eventually be offered contracts running through 1982. One might ask why Hill was only paid $27,000 in his new position when former President Tirrell had been making $5,000 more. A rarity in the category of people climbing to the top, Joe Hill was never interested in money at OCC. Numerous times he would be given raises and, embarrassed, request that the money go to his colleagues. Although offered a College car, he used his own; provided with the President's home, he stayed where he was, and in an era of perquisites, he hardly ever charged expenses to his employers. Interest in personal financial security was down the list; an associate said that Hill's tally of important things was "indubitably, research, family, and health."

The Board and any willing group or individual would hear a buzzsaw of new terminology from their new President, vocabulary that soon supplanted the jargon of audio-tutorial. Hill's centerpiece would consist of the "educational sciences" and his own version of cognitive styles, but there would also be sprinklings of "human feedback circuitry, mission statements, analogue models, and supportive variables,"as esoteric concepts intermingled with abstractions. Able to pull many of these complications off with less sophisticated audiences because of his sharp wit and storytelling ability, Hill (the common man's intellectual, simply called "Joe") won numerous disciples near and far. Although the world of ideas was his first love, there was a college to administer and this presented a greater challenge. Between the Tirrell and Hill transition there was no attempt at educational triage---the practice usually limited to battlefield hospitals, of deciding who shall die so that others may live. In effect, this technique would have helped decide what good ideas from the audio-tutorial systems approach should live for another age and which shall pass to the great Valhalla of dead issues.

The initial task was one of imposing Joe Hill's dream and model onto the institution without angering too many people. To Hill, remnants of Tirrell's ideas became part of an ancien regime to be done away with, not overtly, but with subtle modifications pointing toward enhancement of the new regime of Educational Sciences. Opportunity to begin the extirpation of the old came on September 19, 1968, at the Board of Trustees meeting when Hill remarked that "the staff is just in the talking stage at this time; it is in the process of composing designs for evaluating our audio-tutorial system and investigating the possibility of establishing some selected classes in which to test traditional approaches to instruction. This is not to be interpreted to mean that the present educational system of the College is to be abandoned. I am suggesting that a comparison might be made of the scholastic success of transfer students to four-year colleges from OCC and those from community colleges using conventional methods." In these brief comments could be heard the ghost of Jack Tirrell saying, "This looks like the denouement of the audio-tutorial, systems approach."

Similar to Tirrell's mission of creating the best community college in the world, Hill's vaulting ambition called for OCC to become the "Mayo Clinic of Education," serving the public from a deeply scientific base. To accomplish this task, a reorganization of the administration was in order, and the new President established a Division of Systems Analysis, headed by Dr. Michael Tucci, to build into the system a formal feedback mechanism. According to Hill, a system was "defined as a collection of elements with their interconnections considered over a given period of time." It was necessary for staff and faculty to keep a dictionary handy when dealing with their new chief executive. The "Mayo Clinic" approach would require dedication to abstract thinking and a willingness to accept changes as the new model was being refined. To improve student performance and to insinuate Hill's ideas into the College, a multi-path approach to instruction was introduced as indicated below.


Common GAS
LECTURE-RECITATION
MULTI-MEDIA (INDEPENDENT STUDY)
TEXT & PROGRAM LEARNING
14 Week Semester
Lecture-Recitation..... 42 Meetings/Semester (1 GAS - 2 SASes)
Multi-Media..... 14 Meetings/Semester (1 GAS)
Text & Program Learning..... 28 Meetings/Semester (1 GAS - 1SAS)

Hill's proposed alterations that he hoped would truly "individualize" instruction had a lofty goal in mind: "We believe that 90 percent of the students with normal ability can learn 90

percent of the material 90 percent of the time if teaching methods and media are adjusted to the student's cognitive style."

Innovation Through the Educational Sciences

Cognitive style?

Yes, the new President had brought along another concept that would be added to the educational stew pot. As part of his Educational Sciences model, cognitive style was the key to explaining why people---students, professors, counselors, administrators, all people---behave as they do. Hill was providing an answer to psychologist Joseph Katz's quest for education to be more scientific: "What is more, we need a conceptual schema that will permit us to understand the differences between students and thus allow us to be more effective in teaching them." Agreeing that education lacked a unifying conceptual framework and language, Hill posed the Educational Sciences as a way to establish a set of theories and principles with which to evaluate the educational process. If education is to be regarded as a rigorous applied field of information, similar to medicine, engineering or pharmacy, it must reflect a scientific orientation. Hill explained it this way: "The factual description, concepts, generalizations, laws, and theories which comprise a scientific conceptual framework for education are of many kinds." Seven "sciences" were then listed as part of the new President's schema:

1. Symbols and their meaning.
2. Cultural determinants of the meaning of symbols.
3. Modalities of inference.
4. Biomedical and electrophysiological aspects of memory.
5. Cognitive styles of individuals.
6. Teaching styles, administrative styles, and counseling styles.
7. Systemic analysis and decision-making.

These were included in an elaborate construct that he described as essential for one to grasp meaning and knowledge. And, as always, Hill said it better than any of his disciples:

> In the development of its conceptual framework, the applied field of education may be viewed as a system of sciences essential to the process of searching for meaning in contrast to considering education as a single all-embracing science. An analysis of education, viewed as a social system involving the elements of persons, processes, and properties, and their inter-connections, shows that there are at least seven fundamental aspects

> to be considered. Each of these essential aspects is composed of factual descriptions, concepts, generalizations and principles that can be systematically observed and involved in experimentation.

During his first year at the College Hill attempted to orient faculty and staff to the Educational Sciences through a series of in-service programs that could earn graduate credit from Wayne State.

Cognitive styles, however, were the key element that generated the most controversy during the new President's tenure at the College. Using a definition different from that of most psychologists, Hill explained that cognitive style was a concept for describing an individual's mode of behavior in searching for meaning. In so doing, each person reveals a disposition to use certain types of symbolic forms over others, to find meaning in symbols from satisfying roles assumed, and to display certain reasoning patterns. This complicated process can be understood by establishing a cognitive style "map," a picture showing the way a person derives meaning from the environment based on his symbolic orientation, personal experience, and ways of reasoning or drawing conclusions. A typical student map would look like this:

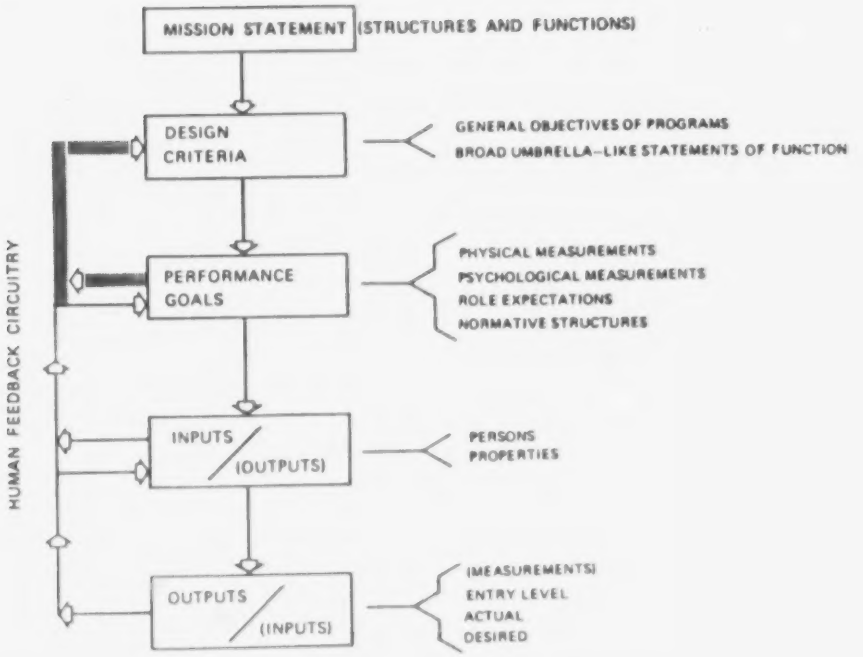
$$g = \overset{12}{\underset{10}{\left[\begin{matrix} T(AL) & T(VL) \\ Q(CET) & \\ Q(CEM) & \\ Q(CS) & \\ q(ck) & \\ q(ch) & \end{matrix}\right]}} \times \left[\begin{matrix} I \\ a \quad (+) \end{matrix}\right] \times \left[\begin{matrix} M & D \\ d & m \\ r & r \end{matrix}\right]$$

Such maps would be generated by the computer based on data supplied by the student, and the symbols would be unraveled by the College counseling staff. A 13-page "Student Guide to Cognitive Style Testing and Mapping," prepared by the Auburn Hills counseling staff, used terminology like "Theoretical Auditory Linguistic" and "Qualitative Proprioceptive Sense." It was quickly apparent that the mystery of learning had become more mysterious as these elaborate formulae demanded serious study for comprehension and use on the part of the student and the professional staff. To describe the theory and the implications fully would take an entire book, but a single paragraph reveals some of the complexity involved:

Essentially, the <u>empirical mapping</u> of an individual's educational cognitive style calls for decision-making by a diagnostician regarding which elements, of all those included in the <u>universal</u> sets, S,E, and H, respectively, to include in the individual's map. This process demands that the diagnostician, on the basis of knowledge, past experience, awareness of the contextualisms involved, and other information in a variety of forms available to him or to her, map set (S) into those afferent, or efferent, elements of: T'(VL), (not T(VL); T'(AL), (not T(A), and so on, until the total set of "symbols" of elements of the individual's map is completed. In similar fashion, the afferent and efferent elements of the set (E) are empirically mapped, as are those of set (H).

Many who tried to get through paragraphs like these were left in a state of wonderment. Suffice it to say that with the introduction of the Educational Sciences and cognitive style, Hill began to make major modifications at the College: a testing operation was mandated; counselors had to be retrained for effective student placement into classes; adaptations were needed in the instructional systems model to accommodate various cognitive learning styles; faculty had to be recruited to handle the multiple approaches required; and administrators had to respond to systems analysis of their individual operations.

In slow modicums of change, Hill was attempting to accomplish what Tirrell had not had time to do: truly evaluate the innovations and the experiment. Systems analysis provided a means, but moving the entire, multi-campus College in this direction was a formidable chore. Administrators, the new academic department heads, counseling chairmen, and support services personnel were trained in a method, perfected at the Pentagon by Robert McNamara, called Program Planning and Budgeting Systems (PPBS) to accompany the activities of the Office of Systems Analysis. With the President's modifications, the PPBS approach took on this appearance:



Optimistic that he could eventually win the staff to his new way of thinking, Hill looked to the goal of 90 percent student success as realistic and attainable. Any success he hoped to garner at the College was partly dependent on the development of technology and specifically on cognitive styles generated by the computer. The President was particularly fond of reciting the four revolutions in education described by philosopher Eric Ashby:

> The first revolution occurred when societies began to differentiate adult roles, and the task of educating the young was shifted, in part, from parents to teachers and from the home to the school.
>
> The second, which in some places antedated the first, was the adoption of the written word as a tool of education. Prior to that time, oral instruction prevailed, and it was only with reluctance that writing was permitted to coexist with the spoken work in the classroom.
>
> The third revolution came with the invention of printing and the subsequent wide availability of books.
>
> The fourth revolution is portended by developments in electronics, notably those involving the radio, television, tape recorder, and the computer.

While much of the revolution was already in place, Hill hoped to provide frosting on the classroom cake with a mixture of

Educational Sciences and Foundational Studies. Most agreed that he possessed that extra supply of animus needed for this task plus an ability as an indefatigable promoter of his own ideas.

First things first, however. The high failure rate of the College became a primary concern of the new administration as well as the newly-formed College Academic Senate. Immediate steps were taken in the Spring of 1969 to remedy this embarrassing situation. Three new factors were introduced which might prove to be the first step to change the growing concern about the student who was not capable of succeeding at Oakland. These would become operative during the following Fall semester:

1. Attendance at classes was mandatory. (Previously only the general assembly session was required.)

2. The independent study was modified; classes met more frequently.

3. The instructor was given the alternative of assigning an X mark to students who remained in class after the mid-term and neither passed, failed, or qualified for an incomplete.

Transfer institutions had trouble understanding the definition and rationale for the X mark and it was eventually discarded. During the time these alterations wer occurring, Hill moved to insert element of university style on the community college. For many, these had a liberating effect: in the words of one professor: "Joe Hill's actions at OCC were like Lincoln freeing the slaves. We were stifled under the thumb of Jack Tirrell and now had almost complete freedom to do our own thing."

As noted earlier, the new President made several structural changes including the removal of academic division heads with the creation of new department leaders. Later research showed that this action cost the College an additional quarter million dollars annually in operational costs but Hill could not be convinced. In the process, a level of supervision was also removed since the new Department Heads were not administrators according to the faculty contract.

In March, 1969 the concept of "shared governance" came to the College when a constitution for an Academic Senate, with campus units as well, was ratified. During Tirrell's tenure, a Representative Faulty Advisory Council was formed to give faculty a forum to advise the President. The new Senate was empowered "to formulate educational policies affecting the College," but was still a recommending body, with a place for reporting on deliberations at monthly Board meetings. A more formidable group with which Hill would contend was the faculty union which had been recognized by the Trustees as the collective bargaining agent in

January, 1966. Like the Senate, the professors were to become more militant and in 1971 would hit Hill and the country with one of the first college faculty strikes.

Without declaring its full intent, the faculty appeared to be moving toward the university teaching model that included lectures three or four times a week for each class. Hill was content to go along with any change that accommodated the Educational Sciences format, and was willing to make the necessary quid pro quos to win short gains. To establish a cadre of "true believers," he resorted to bringing from the outside a retinue of sycophants who espoused the jabberwocky-like vocabulary to a host of non-believers. Some faulty were eventually won to the cause of a new brand of innovation; those who were tired of the previous and didn't want to try a new one simply became insular and, typical of the times, "did their own thing." New staff and those recruited from within with such perquisites as special contracts and double promotions were essential for the Foundational Studies component of Hill's plan. Designed to strengthen and broaden the area of general education---a concern raised by the North Central visitors---the component consisted of some core courses that would be required of all students seeking diplomas. Without utilizing a traditional instructional approach, four courses were included in the design: Foundations of Communications, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, and Humanities.

In January, 1969 the President sent the Academic Senate a document delineating the Foundational Studies with a philosophical and conceptual structure that had been evolving in his mind for over 11 years. In some ways it sounded like a throwback to Tirrell's years (A student, said Hill, "will work at a pace suitable to himself with the methods best fitting his needs..."), but there the similarity ended. What was envisioned for Fall, 1969 was a model by which "a student shall be tested by new means such as television and tapes; his scores fed into the computer; his cognitive style analyzed and diagnosed, receive a prescribed plan through counseling; and then set off to learn in a manner compatible to his needs." Ideally, the student's cognitive style would be matched with the cognitive style of the professor. Referring back to the Educational Sciences discussion, one could see that the proposed curriculum changes would mandate a revamping of College services and the addition of new structures. It also meant revision of the "old" and adding the "new." A 1970 Summer Curriculum Development Workshop in which 24 faculty members participated produced several program improvements. A continuum of freshman English was initiated with provisions for continuous registration to permit students to advance at their own rate. A Personalized Education Program (PEP) for Social Science 151 (Modern Society) was converted to a program of Computer Assisted Management of Personalized Instruction (CAMPI). This was accomplished by identifying modes of understanding for each learning station to permit computer use of cognitive style maps to identify the course

prescription for each student. The Summer Workshop also produced an annotated bibliography of Individualized Programmed Learning Laboratory (IPLL) holdings, a 16 mm film describing the use of the French knife for chef training, the identification of micro and macro concepts in data processing, the organization of a team-teaching, guaranteed success program in Political Science 151, and the revision of 80 technical/vocational curricula.

To implement a cognitive style intake system meant creating Testing and Evaluation Centers, Diagnostic Centers, and a Prescription Center before the student ever encountered an instructor (and these Centers had to be provided for three separate campuses). As expected, Hill met some resistance in public discussions: at one heated Senate meeting, an angry professor stood and demanded to know "what this bullshit is all about." Always able to flummox his foes with clever humor and ready discourse, the President gave an acceptable explanation and the Senate approved a pilot program with a limited enrollment in Foundational Studies. Teaching faculty were vital to any success Hill could achieve because they offered the options available to students with varying cognitive styles. Some of the most creative series of learning paths were developed by Foundational Studies staff who buttressed their "class" activities with elaborate program plans explaining methodology. Following a general assembly session (GAS), students would "burst" into small clusters utilizing the old carrels in an arcade arrangement. Paraprofessional staff with appropriate skills would monitor students, motivate and guide in the use of programmed materials and media, and maintain records. In addition, a Youth-Tutor-Youth component used qualified students as assistants to those with learning problems.

Despite this logical design, Hill would always have to deal with detractors and critics. Some ne'er-do-wells would dismiss their classes early and say they were using the "burst" method. In attempting to win support, the President tried formal communication: he explained to an open forum at Orchard that over 50 doctoral dissertations had been completed in defense of Educational Sciences research, and introduced a College-wide monthly publication called "Inter-Link." Its purpose was stated in the premiere issue:

> The test of a civilized society is its ability to communicate without resorting to violence. Hopefully, Inter-Link will enable us to communicate with one another with the violence done only to syntax.
>
> In my travels about the campuses I am often asked questions about future plans or on-going programs of the College and I find that circumstances often preclude my answering the questions satisfactorily. Inter-link may be a proper vehicle for responding to such questions.

In February, 1970, he issued the first of many "Presidential Newsletters" to create another two-way channel of communication between central office and other areas of the College. The first issued explained progress in finalizing the North Central process. Wherever possible the public media were employed to give good publicity about OCC; like every chief executive, Hill tried to avoid bad press. In enlarging discussions on College developments, he was a regular visitor to each, always trying to build support. A repeated task was to make clear that coerced conversion to the cause of Educational Sciences would not occur: "Under no circumstances should any individual feel threatened or endangered (in a career sense) if he does not choose to participate," he explained. According to the rumor mill, however, those who jumped on the bandwagon were well rewarded (the college faculty at the time had a ranking system and promotions were based on recommendations of departments). While these gossip items were not confirmed, it was generally known that Hill gave unlimited time and attention to staff who did doctoral work on Educational Sciences topics.

To further support his model, the President got the Board to approve the establishment of an Institute for the Educational Sciences to accommodate projects and research associated with the seven components of the theory. To provide publications from Institute activities, the Board also approved the creation of an Oakland Community College Press but provided no budget. Surreptitious assistance for the Educational Sciences occurred with the creation of a Division of conferences and Institutes using campus facilities and rental sites such as Colombiere College in northern Oakland County. National Educational Sciences conferences were held along with such diverse meetings as Concrete Technology, National Plastics and Tooling, Michigan Council for Social Studies, and a Seminar for Hospital Administrators. Personnel who were paid to provide professional expertise for these institutes were a coterie from Hill's inner circle. Opportunities to work in those were not publicized for all comers, and those OCC factotums who participated were paid from conference income and "served during unassigned work time or used vacation days."

At the same time these events were transpiring, Hill was called on to respond to certain issues outside the institution. Detroit residents were not served by a community college until voters created a district (Wayne County Community College) in 1967, but, like OCC's first attempt, failed to approve millage. The State Legislature stepped in with some funds and requested Oakland and Macomb Community College to assist. Hill recommended that the College help with course packages, computer processing, and the loan of two administrators. On another outside issue, the President failed to endorse the construction of a U.S. Navy Armory at the Orchard campus. By leasing land for the building, the College would be able to use classroom space during the week since

the Naval Reserve duties occupied mainly weekend hours. But, because access to the Navy electronics equipment for teaching purposes would not be permitted, the Board accepted the recommendation of the campus administration and Hill that the lease be denied.*

There is little doubt that Hill's astuteness as decision-maker was seen in making the transition from Tirrell's experiment to his own. There were numerous situations that were inherited and, because of possible controversy, on which news reporters love to feed. Before the second President's arrival the College had purchased (on June 22, 1967) from Howard and Smith 1,287 Accousti-Carrels at a cost of $108,106. Because the faculty was changing, along with administrative philosophy, to a traditional teaching mode, hundreds of these carrels were stored underground at Orchard, and other carrels, like the gargoyles of failed innovation, sat unobtrusively in hallways. In addition, the college had purchased a half-million programmed learning textbooks of which 372,980, valued at $463,960 had been scrapped in 1969. Hill attempted to salvage the carrels and texts as part of his "carrel-arcades" activity which utilized discarded tape recorders, slide and film projectors, and reading machines. Other efforts were directed at the expansion of his Personalized Educational Programming (PEP) as part of the wide range of Foundational Studies and other learning options available to students, such as the Individualized Programmed Learning Laboratories (IPLL).

With the dawning of 1970, Hill was firmly enmeshed in transforming the College to his image even though a number of stumbling blocks were slowing the process. Pushing an innovative spirit that sought improvement in every aspect of teaching and learning, the President was impatient with the delays in full implementation of his model. Progress was being made in altering rigid dogmas of what should transpire in the classroom. By 1970, educational researcher Alvin Eurich was calling for all of higher education to move to what OCC had been attempting for five years:

> First, everything a student learns he must learn for himself, no teacher can learn for him.
> Second, regardless of how a teacher paces the instruction, each student will learn at his own rate.
> Third, students learn more when each step learned is re-inforced.
> Fourth, full rather than partial mastery of each step makes total learning more meaningful.

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* This decision would haunt administrators at Orchard 15 years later when campus enrollment rose to 8,000 and every available classroom was scheduled. Future growth could have utilized rooms built by the U.S. Navy at no additional cost to district taxpayers.

By constantly upgrading its computer system, Oakland was able to experiment as part of Hill's plan as well as meet the practical needs of students---eliminate long lines at registration. By Winter, 1970 a new, computerized and streamlined registration network was giving milli-second responses to inquiries about the several thousands of class sections offered. Time conflicts were automatically checked and library fines and accounting charges were quickly noted. Hill also used the compute to accommodate data to apply for grant money from the State and Federal government. His relatively new Office of Research Administration reported that a total of $967,860 was received from outside sources in 1969-70, and an additional $1,481,221 was expected the next year.

Even the best leaders will have critics, but Hill was moving with alacrity and with a confidence that bordered on bravado. He often reminded people that he had a 10-day contract and if the Board became unhappy, he "would be gone within a week." Obsessed with the world of ideas and driven to prove the validity of his beloved Educational Sciences, he administered the institution only when necessity demanded his intervention. Completing the College's drive for full North Central accreditation would be the critical demand for the President to administer.

In his resignation statement, former President Tirrell had noted that the North Central Association had approved OCC for Candidacy status which is a mandatory step prior to full accreditation. Although the institution could wait three years before applying for the latter status, Hill decided to move ahead and, following a required self-study, an investigating team visited the College. Dr. Joseph Cosand, team chairman, reported to the Board on December 18, 1969 some key elements, using rather blunt terms. These categories raised several eyebrows:

Educational Program - You had a very great commitment to a teaching method which has colored the attitudes of staff and students as well as determining construction of facilities. It was a method of teaching to which your staff was committed and for which you built facilities and bought equipment.

Specifically with students and staff, it should be noted that the method worked with a minority of students but did not work with the majority. The students now feel that they are receiving greater educational benefits and, now that they are used to it, like the compulsory attendance.

Facilities - There is a strong feeling on the part of both students and staff that your facilities are costly but inadequate.

> Your Auburn Hills Science Building is an abortion.
>
> At Highland Lakes, there is an inferiority complex. They do not know what will happen---they might be forgotten or discontinued. The attitude is not healthy.

In his two-page summary Dr. Cosand devoted the largest part to the administration and specifically to President Hill.

> You have in Dr. Hill a person with great drive and personality. Staff members are looking for someone they can grab hold of and he is it. Dr. Hill has the job of leadership for this College. To Dr. Hill: that is the only thing you can devote your time to.
>
> Dr. Hill is coming in with a whole new concept. There is some understanding about what this concept is but you have a lot of teachers---not all understand it yet. You cannot afford to have anything of a negative attitude. All are concerned about one item in particular. It is the short tenure in position of most of your administrators---on the campus or in the whole district. You must stabilize.
>
> There must be leadership from the President and his Council. There must be long-range plans put down in black and white: enrollments, programs, buildings, and budgets.

Even though Hill had been hustling to make needed corrections, the College failed to win NCA accreditation due to "top heavy" administration and "confusion" over educational programs. During the following months he reduced the number of administrators from 82 to 62,* insisted that the College be accredited as a single unit

* In reducing administrators, Hill proved that a large, multi-campus college could operate efficiently with few people at the top. Dr. William Stuart and I compiled statistics which showed the following:

	1970	1980
College enrollment	11,700	24,000
Number of campus sites	4	5
Full-time faculty	204	302
Support staff (non-academic)	35	50
Clerical staff	175	192
NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATORS	84	32

These figures spoke to college presidents' temptations to build empires, as if size was equated with excellence. Really big staffs seemed to say that really big things were happening on campus. Much to the chagrin of college and university administrators across the land, the College proved that an institution could be managed with fewer people in administrative ranks. Neighboring colleges with double the number of administrators and half the students were immediately suspect and open to criticism. But not widely known, the OCC statistics had little impact on reducing higher education staffs around the State. It proved to be another example of a resounding adage that usually becomes a whisper: "What the taxpayers don't know won't hurt them."

and not as separate campuses, and led a team of Trustees and staff to Chicago to appeal to North Central. Finally, in the Fall of 1971, despite a faculty strike, Oakland was granted full accreditation.

When Joe Hill was forced into a corner and had to display leadership, he could do so with much efficacy. If the occasion indicated that he might be losing on an issue, he called on his massive verbal skills to display a favorite style of administration: "talk 'em to death." In 1973 I saw him give a classic example of this at an Academic Senate meeting where he was called upon to explain why no full-time nurses had been hired as required by the faculty contract. After talking for over two hours on every other topic, the Senate Chairman interrupted to end the meeting, without resolution or a direct answer from the President. On another occasion, Herb Flowers, Student Government President, made an appointment to complain to the CEO about student activities budgets being removed from the Student Personnel area to the Business Office. In Flowers" words: "Dr. Hill talked so long I had to interrupt him to get out of his office."

Early in the game Hill saw the need for revamping the administration and bettering relationships between central office and the campuses. At the Executive Council meeting on September 10, 1968, he proposed the title "Chancellor" rather than "Provost" for the top executive at each campus, with increased authority and responsibilities, thus moving toward a decentralized institution with an indirect "back-up" administrative structure. Each "Chancellor" would run the campus "as he sees fit as long as it operates within the framework of Program Planning and Budgeting (PPBS) guidelines." However, as the NCA team would report, the President never got around to implementing this plan. By 1970, Hill's impact on the College's administration was noted in Campus annual reports that were presented in the PPBS format. One Provost claimed that the quality of education offered students was "exceeded by no other community college in the country. The success rate of our students has increased to the point where less than five percent are failing." He attributed much of this success to cognitive style mapping which prescribed programs of learning and which virtually assured students of passing results. One faculty member's response to this report was "that with PPBS the major emphasis should be on the B.S."

In the midst of College reorganization and the time spent promoting the virtues of Educational Sciences, Hill made a staff addition that would have a profound effect on his administrative reputation: Dr. Derek Nunney was appointed Vice-President for Instruction on May 15, 1969. A month earlier he had been introduced as the Commencement speaker from Washington, D.C. where he served as chief of the Teacher Corps Program in the U.S. Office of Education. A native of England, Nunney had a bachelors degree from the University of British Columbia and the doctorate from UCLA. He became friends with Hill while serving as an associate professor at Wayne State. The Hill-Nunney relationship was a misalliance that few could explain. Handsome, intelligent, with a proper, but slightly Americanized, British accent, Nunney was credited with many of the ideas that were successful in implementing Hill's concepts. To the majority of critics he became "Hill's hatchet-man" who, while displaying a controlled public face, would vent his rage against opponents in private. Hill preferred to use Nunney for insulation and his assignment included many of the unsavory tasks of administration. These he willingly assumed because he had eyes on a higher goal: the eventual presidency at Oakland or somewhere else. With a Washington bureaucratic background, it was said that Nunney was the kind of person who would have written an Office of Safety and Health Administration regulation for a solitary bulldozer operator, working isolated and alone in a national forest, requiring a two-man stretcher on the dozer in case of an accident. Regarding the decision to hire Nunney, one colleague evaluated the President this way: "Joe Hill was loved as a person but greatly disliked as a President when it came to good judgment." But, until the end of his career, the friendship between the President and his Vice-President would remain secure.

Compared to the developments of 1970, those of 1971 would prove to be a nightmare for Joe Hill. Headlines in metropolitan Detroit newspapers read like a litany of horrors as a maelstrom of controversy engulfed the College:

"White Coalition Challenges Student Activities Monies"
"Association of Black Students Presents Demands to Board"
"Board of Trustees Shuts Student Paper Down"
"Jane Fonda Tells OCC Students to Stop War"
"Pipe Bombs Explode at Oakland College"
"Faculty at OCC Out on Strike"

Yes, the worst scenarios of the rebellious 60s and 70s had come to Hill's doorstep, and the challenge to respond correctly was stretched to the limits. These events will be detailed in coming chapters. If these problems weren't enough to contend with, the President would also be embroiled in battles over budgets. In defending a "controlled growth" philosophy related to student recruitment, he would experience a cascading barrage of "bad press"

that he had worked hard to avoid. This year, 1971, and the following would be the nadir of Hill's 10-year career at the College.

Without realizing that her choice of words was a harbinger of things to come, Dr. Betty Setz, Director of Public Relations, started a news story with the question, "What is OCC?...Oakland Controversial College" and went on to defend changes at the institution. In a series of investigative reports the DAILY TRIBUNE in 1972 questioned expense account payments to administrators, and called campus programs an "educational mess." This series presaged a gathering of vultures over the next three years that would feed on the entrails of policies gone awry and increase the feeling of ennui that developed throughout the College. Problems ranging from the innocuous to the career-threatening received wide publicity, most of it not good. Among those of less import was criticism of the decorative gas lights at Orchard. Giving the campus an airport quality at night, the almost 1,000 lights were installed at an expense of $242,000 and cost $41,441 a year to operate, including the expenses for a full-time "lamplighter" (at 1970 rates). Because the lights burned 24 hours a day, other administrators and I were bombarded with outraged citizen callers during President Nixon's declared "energy crisis" in 1973.* Although sold to the College as an energy-saving idea in 1966 when the campus was planned (with cost being amortized out over many years), the lights were replaced with electric fixtures a few years later. Tradition had won another battle at OCC.

More serious for the President and the Board were the allegations that public tax money had been misused. Like other institutions, Oakland was accountable to its supporters through annual audits by outside firms and, rather than make judgments about the propriety of educational decisions, auditors identify inefficiencies and potentially illegal transactions. Most of the reports during this period criticized "sloppy management," negligence in fiscal operations, and noted that "classrooms were empty half of the time" during normal operating hours. Critics on the faculty blamed the latter situation on Hill's "controlled growth" philosophy explaining limply that by limiting enrollment, money could be spent on the President's special projects. A local paper, THE SPINAL COLUMN, which appeared to have a vendetta against the College during these years, printed statistics showing that neighboring community colleges had a 25 percent growth rate from Fall, 1970 but that OCC's was only 1.7 percent. Figures cited were:

Oakland Community College

Fall 1970 - 15,142
Fall 1971 - 14,572
Fall 1972 - 14,034
Fall 1973 - 15,402 (1970-73 growth = 1.7 percent)

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*. One telegram made this threat: "I am wondering if you people are going to wait until the taxpayers turn off your salaries before you know enough to turn off those gas lights." What citizens didn't know was that if lights were extinguished, they had to be relit, one at a time.

Fall 1967 - 5,487
Fall 1968 - 10,024
Fall 1969 - 13,223
Fall 1970 - 15,142 (1967-70 growth = 275 percent)

The bulk of negative publicity questioning the use of funds revolved around the 18-minute PEP film, a promotional venture espousing the virtues of Hill and Nunney's Personalized Educational Programming using cognitive styles and various teaching-learning methods. According to the OCC leaders, about 25 percent of the College's courses at the time used PEP activities. On March 10, 1972, the "Presidential Newsletter" boasted that the PEP film had been shown to 5,977 viewers at 212 group meetings during the previous year, and that articles about its contents had appeared in the Los Angeles TIMES, Minneapolis STAR, with even PLAYBOY magazine requesting information. Faculty criticisms of administration judgments on expenditures and use of consultants had been raised periodically, and the College Academic Senate, protesting the costs of the Educational Sciences, submitted a resolution to the Board on September 21, stating "we strongly object to the creation of a Board policy which establishes one body of thought as the instructional approach of the College." Hinting that some hanky-panky had transpired between Nunney and Xerox Corporation which, according to the Vice-President, had borne the $21,767 production cost, the critics saw that the PEP film became a hot issue during the Summer's Board election campaign. On candidate, Dr. J.Harold Ellens, raised 17 questions alleging improprieties at the College, based on information provided by Dr. Daniel Greenberg and other faculty. Ellens followed with a request to appear before the Trustees but his request was denied. The private Executive Board meeting on May 4 produced this account in the minutes:

> With only the Board present, Dr. Hill brought them a message from Chairman Henderson who had been approached by Dan Greenberg and Mr. Ellens with a request to meet with the Board. Included in the request was the suggestion that attorneys representing both parties be there also. The Board discussed this possibility and were in disagreement as to whether it should be done. The thought is to keep things as quiet and undisturbed as possible until after the election.

> Dr. Hill explained that Mr. Greenberg has been asking for detailed information relative to College expenditures and contracts for educational materials, and it is rumored that there is an effort to cause trouble for Dr. Nunney to the point that he would be dismissed. It is also more than possible that the efforts are meant to discredit Trustees Mosher and Lila Johnson so it would affect the election. Because of these political implications, the Board generally felt the meeting should not be held.
>
> Dr. Hill also went to some length to inform the Board of the many factions at work within the College, the animosities on the part of certain faculty and Gerald Faye's performance in particular.

Following accusations, charges that funds were spent without Board approval, and considerable bad press, the Trustees finally agreed to a public hearing that, in the words of Trustee Mosher, "was going to clear up this matter once and for all." In an elaborate report of the five-hour June 21 gathering, complete with lawyers and a court reporter, the Board concluded that the controversy was due to "rumors, false information, and misrepresentation," and that no wrong-doing on the part of Trustees or administrators had occurred. In defending the use of the film at national conferences Nunney testified that "I have been to too many conventions over the past year or so where, before I even get up on the deck, I am being told, 'Oh, you're from OCC, that funny place where everything went wrong.' I say, 'Why don't you just hold it until you have seen the PEP film; then come and visit us.'" In a minority report of the proceedings by Board members David Hackett and Lila Johnson, support for the majority opinion was given but these points were also emphasized.

> Throughout the testimony, it became apparent that the actual dollar amount expended on the film was less of an issue than the philosophical controversy within the College regarding appropriate educational methods, the extent to which innovation and experimentation should prevail, and the appropriate means of disseminating information about innovative programs to those with the College, sister institutions, government and private agencies, and the academic community.
>
> Since the founding of the College, the various Boards which have governed the College have strongly supported innovation, and this Board continues to encourage the development of programs which may contribute knowledge to improved methods of learning and teaching. However, it is our understanding that no faculty member is required to participate in the innovations, which are maintained on a voluntary basis, preserving academic freedom.

> Further, those presenting the minority opinion, question the value of missionary work and institutional image building outside the College district, feeling that until the local and internal problems of education are solved, this function should be given limited priority.
>
> We regret that in the heat of political expediency, accuracy and fairness sometimes do not prevail. It is also regrettable that politics should cause an institution which has made a substantial and constructive contribution to human welfare to be placed in the shadow of questionable integrity thereby diverting it from its primary objectives. However, we hope the Board contemplates no reprisals against the perpetrators of this unfortunate rumor, since they have followed the tactics which are common in the current climate in American politics. We find no violation of the law or of Board policy, but simply an abuse of good taste.

Dr. Greenberg may have felt a degree of vindication by the State Auditor General's report six months later which faulted accounting practices totalling $450,000, and commented regarding the PEP film: "the cost of which we are unable to positively identify." Charges that certain friends of the President received special pay without approval of the Board were not substantiated; however, the Accounting Office had failed to report payments for additional Educational Sciences assignments to the Internal Revenue Service. Recognizing another weakness, the Board revised and strengthened its policy on the use of consultants and outside services requiring that costs exceeding $5,000 have prior approval. Throughout these proceedings, Hill played a secondary role letting the Vice-Presidents, Deans, and the Board speak for him. Normally a verbose person on any occasion, he became reticent and uncomfortable when having to defending some positions. This was also true when the President dealt with outsiders.

Because pathfinders are confident of their direction and final destination, they become xenophobic about looking to others. As a consequence, the College was known for its insularity during the Hill years; outsiders were not consulted or invited in unless they were coming to the fount of innovation to learn from us, nor were OCC staff encouraged top travel unless it was, in the words of one critic, "to shill the Educational Sciences." In addition, Hill cut the College's ties with the Michigan Association of Community Colleges and refused to join the local eight-college group, the Southeastern Michigan Association. The President became particularly reclusive with reporters, prompting a Detroit NEWS writer to question the existence of Joseph E. Hill because he found it easier to contact the Governor of Michigan than certain administrators at Oakland. Some of Hill's administrators had a similar problem: when a counselor was assaulted by three students in 1971, my Dean colleagues and I sent a memo urging the President

to prosecute to the maximum and to issue a strong statement of the College's determination to protect employees. No response was ever received from Hill, and some staff went about their assignments with nervous, over-the-shoulder glances for the remainder of his presidency.

To some, it was mandatory that he respond, and the faculty was included in this forceful element when they came as a group. Come they did in March, 1974 bearing a list of 16 major problems which had bee culled from an earlier compilation of 75; and, according to spokesman Professor David Randall, the College "needs to upgrade it public relations effort and tone down involvement in the Educational Sciences." Responding to this Committee of Concerned Faculty, the President explained: "The Educational Sciences have been my life's work for the past 16-17 years. But I've never forced the programs on any one. We're not painting the institution with Educational Sciences....(and on the public relations topic) P.R. people create an image for the College. Frankly, we have not been able to approach that in recent years." One faculty member considered Hill's answer typical circumlocution, and having experienced Tirrell's leadership in 1965, made this comparison: "History always repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. We survived the first stage and are now experiencing the farcical and not everyone seems to have noticed."

In the midst of turmoil some good things were happening. In 1971, the College received the Outstanding Public Organization Award from the National Society for Programmed Instruction (an organization which Nunney had been actively involved in for many years) for its innovative diagnostic program for incoming students using cognitive style testing data. Inquiries and visitors were coming from around the country seeking more information on Hill's PEP programs, and the college had developed the only Division of Conferences and Institutes found among community colleges. By 1971, the President had succeeded in decentralizing the Community Education Program and the 26 Extension centers were placed under campus responsibility. And, to bring closure to the quest for a campus in the southeastern part of the District, a final decision was finally made. After renting an abandoned parochial school in Oak Park, classes were moved to temporary quarters in downtown Royal Oak. These were eventually demolished for a new, multi-million dollar campus on Main Street.

Similar to the responses about Tirrell's attempt to do things differently, staff who worked during the Hill period believed that there were some definite reasons why the cognitive style and Educational Science Experiment failed. A sample of their judgments are noted below:

English Professor - Carryover skepticism from the audio-tutorial failure ("Here comes another bright idea.)

Traditionalist disposition/resistance.

Failure to translate the cognitive style mumbo-jumbo into practical, easily-implemented applications/language. Persistent doubts about the reliability/validity of the cognitive test to measure what it purported to measure.

Failure of leadership to provide the resources and means to implement and sustain the theoretical applications in the practical pedagogical arena. Faculty were asked to develop the means of implementing.

Psychology Instructor - It became evident that Hill was extremely biased and not likely to proceed in a scientifically proper way. There were too many variables in his system. It was impossible for us to address ourselves to all the dimensions of the student.

Trust in the leader diminished greatly when he rewarded followers excessively and unfairly. Hill destroyed the merit and rank system.

Social Scientist - Inadequate validation prior to implementation here. Where was the basic evidence of validity? Would have settled for even a Samuel Postlethwaite here.

Little or no plan evident for administrative follow-through. Suppose one did seek to classify students according to cognitive style. Where would technical support have come from to do so"

Adversarial relationship with faculty. Gradually an unhealthy climate arose in which some became favorites and others became somewhat alienated from the whole concept. If Joe really cared as much as he claimed he did....

Math Professor - Lack of commitment generally by faculty. Hill brought in his own cronies and this may have set others against him.

Also, someone was needed to run the college. Hill didn't have the time, so that left Dr. Nunney (a cold and calculating person). I think camps were set up, with the one not necessarily against Joe, but certainly not supporting him.

Voc-Tech Instructor - So many had become jaded by the previous administration, so much so that when the new administration brought in its own "bag of tricks," most people were so disillusioned that they weren't willing to invest in someone else's dream. To many resources were poured into the "dream" at the expense of ongoing programs.

OCC is not a research institution and if we were the pilot for the experiment, then there should have been greater control. There were two cultures residing at the College at the time---the burned-out and the disillusioned--very little dialogue between the two.

Speech Professor - Hill pushed too hard to make his theories the answers to our problems. He trusted Derek Nunney (that was reason enough not to trust Joe Hill).

One could not be as flexible in class structure as the Educational Sciences required. He did away with "division status." A good division chairman would have helped him pull off the experiment.

History Professor - There was no "experiment" in the scientific sense to prove or disprove his hypotheses. No persuasive arguments were made to support cognitive style and if it were true, insufficient examples or practices developed to show how in a real setting it could impact on education.

Arrogance of power---a system imposed change must be accepted. A complete distortion of OCC so Joe Hill could concentrate on cognitive style, i.e., "controlled growth."

Chemistry Professor - Program was imposed from the top: faculty suspicious. Inability of Hill to submit the cognitive style test items to verification.

Faculty view that the whole thing was a fraud. Due to the organizations and activities surrounding the Educational Sciences.

Librarian - Cognitive style testing did not discriminate enough between different styles. The tests were too self-determining and based on self-evaluation and self-assessment.

> Given different cognitive styles and learning styles, OCC did not have optional tracks or learning modes to fit or accommodate the various learning styles.
>
> Even if we did have these options available, the logistics of implementing such options would have made success impossible.

Despite these criticisms, Hill's reward for the many good things going on at the College was a new five-year contract that would run through June 30, 1978. Speaking the Board's consensus, Trustee Earl Anderson stated:

> The Board as a whole went over the records and performances of these men and came to the conclusion that the goals of Drs. Hill, Nunney, and Nikkel have succeeded to the point of high regard by many people of the College and others in the State and around the country.
>
> Because of these happenings and the feelings of these people, the Board came to only one conclusion---that Dr. Hill should have a five-year contract. The other two gentlemen are also looked upon by people in the College and the State with very high standing. With all these things in mind, the Board had to take this action. If we can continue on the basis that we have in education, then we won't only be an outstanding College but one of the best in the country.

Joe Hill would not live to see the fulfillment of that hope: on August 5, 1977, he suffered a heart attack and a massive stroke which left him paralyzed.

Just prior to this crisis Hill had been offered a second five-year contract indicating Board approval of his ideas, plans for the institution, and leadership for what would have been a 14-year tenure as President. This time at the helm of a large college was unheard of: the average tenure of college and university chief executives at the time was about five years. Because of the stroke, Hill was unable to speak, and the man who had lived to communicate was left hopelessly silent. After a six-month wait, the Board named Nunney interim president until Hill could return or a successor chosen. On February 14, 1978, Lawrence Kevelinghan, Hill's son-in-law and attorney for the family, appealed to the Board for a sabbatical leave for the President since his bank of vacation days, insuring full pay and benefits, was expiring. Choosing to take no action, the Board indicated that sabbaticals were not used for illness purposes but that long-term disability leave was a possibility. One might question the logic and sensitivity of the Trustees in giving contract extensions endorsing

the President's actions and then appearing quite insensitive in his time of need. However, further Board deliberations would prove unnecessary. A month later, Hill was struck with a second stroke, went into a coma, and died on March 24, 1978.

What is the measure of a man who attempts to bring change, new thought, piercing questions, and lofty challenges to the status quo? For one to judge Joe Hill we must look beyond the fluff of innovation. One must praise his willingness to pick up the puny slingshot and taunt the slumbering goliaths of the educational establishment into reluctant action. In any final evaluation of his legacy, no one can fault the supreme effort displayed by Joe Hill.

A Postscript on Innovation and Innovators

In a proposal to improve teaching, K. Patricia Cross gives a view of innovation from a perch atop the late 1980s:

> If Sleeping Beauty had dozed off in class at the University of Bologna in the 12th Century and been awakened recently by all the noise about educational excellence, she would have awakened to a classroom that was quite familiar to her.
>
> Generations of students and teachers have come and gone; the printing press has made knowledge easily available to the masses; television producers have learned to disdain the "talking head;" computers offer new opportunities for interactive learning; but the talking head continues to reign supreme in higher education.
>
> So far, "teaching as telling" has withstood the test of time. But the times they are a-changing---or are they?

At about the same time, the CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION asked "Those Experimental Colleges of the 1960s: Where Are They, Now That We Need Them?" During the second half of the 60s there can be little doubt that innovation had become a magic-bullet hope, and the decade at Oakland revealed that the magic was dependent on time, money, and personnel---for which there must be creative leaders and willing followers. As in the case of other innovators, Oakland, over time, would succumb to the pressures of tradition and conformity. Throughout history progress has been slowed by the doubters and resisters, those who had a vested interest in maintaining current modes. Will Durant records the Egyptian legend of King Thamos denouncing the art of writing as an enemy of civilization, and notes that others feared the danger of a printing press that might eliminate teachers. Such accounts help us understand those who fear and fight change, cast a jaundiced eye at new media, and are apprehensive about innovations of whatever ilk.

It appears that the two innovative presidents at Oakland, in their excitement about change, had not paid enough attention to the research on resistance to innovation. Tirrell could have noted research stating that whereas innovations in medicine took about two years to be adopted universally, those in education took nearly 30 years. Even more discouraging, he could have read that the complete diffusion of successful alterations in education took approximately 50 years. Along with these findings, Hill would have had available the research of Evans and Leppman on the problems of getting instructional television (ITV) accepted in four-year institutions. Faculty members were singled out as the main vehicles bringing about or preventing change because they have a vested interest in tradition.

Both Tirrell and Hill had failed to maintain faculty support in their attempts to alter education. One disgruntled professor used a Mark Twain line to describe his leaders' tactics: "To a man who wants to use a hammer badly, a lot of things look like nails." To the faculty of 1975, much of the decade was a bad dream to be forgotten as the dominant feeling became: "We're tired of being part of the experimental group." At the end of his reign Hill could have easily predicted "apre moi le deluge," for the decade of innovation would be completely swamped by a return to tradition. Traditionalism became the raison detre of the College. By 1975 the experimental design was played out, a mere chimera of its original thrust. The GAS,SAS terminology was gone and, for new staff, words of historic gobbledegook. A remaining vestige were the carrels now located in libraries, a few science labs, and in some counseling centers.

For new students of the mid-70s these artifacts of innovations gone stale were seen simply as features of an expired educational process. A dramatic byproduct of the attempted experiment were the walls. In his wildest speculation Robert Frost could not have foreseen the application of his poetic line "something there is that doesn't love a wall." Professors love walls. Brick and mortar, drywall and soundproofing, nails and paste, paint and trim, doors and windows. Professors love walls. Walls represent security and power: "This is my space and I'm number one here." The Tirrell and Hill experiments were almost finished by 1975. The norm for Oakland became six rows of five student desks facing the front of an enclosed classroom with the spotlight on a podium. Professors may love walls but taxpayers don't when they have to pay twice for the same building. The move from open spaces to classroom walls cost the taxpayers of Oakland County several additional millions, though it made business great for contractors. Wall construction begun in 1969 would take over another decade to complete. In fact, contracts were approved in the Spring of 1985 for the final walls to be built at Orchard Ridge.

There was no one to play "Taps" for educational innovation at the College. Contradicting the poetic prediction of T.S. Eliot, audio-tutorial, the systems approach, and cognitive style mapping did not end with a bang or a whimper. Without a sound, the transition back to traditional college teaching had been completed.

How different is this reality with that which had been predicted by Alvin Eurich in 1969? In a chapter entitled "A 21st Century View of American Higher Education" he says:

> A professor nowadays rarely lectures to a group of 30 or 40 students as his predecessors used to a half-century ago. Rather, he now meets with his students individually or in small groups after they have mastered a block of knowledge through the use of diverse learning resources.

To this prognostication, Jack Tirrell and Joe Hill would smile and politely say, "We told you so."

Profile: The New Dean

It was the Fall of 1970. General Motors and the United Auto Workers settled a two-month strike that had idled 400,000 workers. Rock stars Janis Joplin and Jimi Hendrix died of drug overdoses. The Baltimore Orioles defeated the Cincinnati Reds in the World Series. And, on October 12, I became the College's Dean of Students.

Before this appointment I had served a two-year interlude as one of the College's many directors. It was common for new institutions to create fancy titles for administrative positions that sounded glamorous usually in direct proportion to the lower salary levels ascribed to them. Having little student contact, the cadre of directors provided a variety of services related to faculty, staff, and students. The supportive nature of these positions usually required that multiple functions be lodged in a single person. There was an Associate Director of Educational Services responsible for Financial Aids, Placement, and Institutional Analysis. The real test for many of these directors was getting the entire title on a single business card.

My new Dean's card would require fewer lines but, in view of the horrendous events that I would encounter on campus, it should have included a number and notation "who to contact in case of attack or injury." During my first year as Dean I would be assaulted in a student race riot, monitor the investigation of a Biology laboratory bombing by outside conspirators, see ambulances come weekly to take overdosed students to hospitals, respond to demands made by the College's Association of Black Students, supervise the shutdown of an "obscene" student newspaper, help keep the College operating when the faculty went on strike, and participate in anti-Vietnam rallies stimulated by Jane Fonda's visit. Obviously oblivious to these goings-on, a student complimented my intelligence after an orientation lecture by saying, "Dean Nichols, you're a veritable cesspool of knowledge." Since I spent most of 1971 wondering what was going on, I didn't take his remark seriously.

With this catalogue of complications and chaos, I could quickly identify with a joke make the rounds of turbulent institutions during this decade:

> Did you hear about the college dean who died and went to Hell?
> For three weeks he didn't realize he was dead because things seemed to be just as they were when he was alive.

For most of the first year in my new position I would wonder why I had left my comfortable, and safe job to become a Dean.

5

Community College Students: A Not-So- Different Breed

To spend too much time in studies is sloth;
to use them too much for ornament is affectation;
to make judgment wholly by their rules is the
humor of a scholar. Francis Bacon

It's getting harder to tell the difference between
students and thugs. Mark Edelson

It is customarily believed that colleges exist for the sake of the students so it's fitting that they get primary attention. One could surmise from larger events of the 60s and 70s that up until mid-century they had gotten little notice. Images of college students in the 20th century have ranged from flippant flappers of the Roaring 20s to the pot-saturated antics of "Doonesbury's" Zonker. Hidden in the midst of media stereotypes is the norm for students. While movies and newspapers have highlighted fraternity toga parties and telephone booth-stuffing incidents, the majority of students went unnoticed as they matriculated, attended classes, completed assignments, accumulated credits, and eventually graduated. This large percentage was certainly not as newsworthy as a gun-toting radical holding a college Dean hostage and earning a picture-spot on the New York TIMES front page.

Of the 1.5 million students attending two-year institutions in 1965, individual examples of the above stereotypes could be found. There would be some major differences when these students were compared to their peers at universities. Generally, some unique characteristics would be noted: as commuting students, the majority would be employed in the community while taking classes, many on a part-time basis. Most would have graduated in the lower half of their high school class, many would be uncertain about career choices, and large numbers would be the first from their families to attend college. There would be more women, blacks, married, less-affluent, and older students than would be found at universities. About one-third would be enrolled in vocational/technical curricula---nursing, electronics, data processing---leading directly to employment after two years of courses.

During this decade Oakland would experience dramatic changes within its student body: the dominance of male students would lessen as the Vietnam conflict escalated, wound down, and finally ended; college became a refuge for draft-age men who could easily

qualify for admission, and the open-door policy provided unlimited opportunities for escape. While this may not have been the sole motivation for attending, the 75 percent male dominance dropped to a 50 percent margin by 1975 lending credence to this belief. It could be argued that for many students of the 1960s college became a haven for lazy, draft-dodging, non-directed youngsters, some of whom were pictured by the media as drug-taking, partying, libidinous, hell-raising fun-seekers who had serious studying last on a long list of self-gratifications. This image was less accurate at Oakland during its initial years, as students were caught up in the traditional activities of choosing mascots, pledging Greek societies, selecting a campus queen ("Miss Nike"), cheering football and hockey club teams, attending rock concerts with Chuck Berry and the Woolies, Winter sleigh rides, Valentine's dances and country hayrides. It was not all fun and games, however, as some students showed a nascent social consciousness that would become more obvious in the 1970s: students at Auburn sponsored a toilet bowl race to help the American Cancer Society drive get "a head" start, a similar effort at Highland raised money with an "Ugly Man" contest won by President Hill making a $100 donation for his own votes, and the Orchard Ridge students slated a raffle and food drive to assist Mother Wattles' Perpetual Help Mission in Detroit. The uniqueness of community college students could be personified by some specific examples:

> OCC's first "perfect student was appropriately enough the mother of four children, ages 8 to 18, who had graduated from Milford High 20 years prior to continuing her education at Highland in 1965. Dorothy Fettig was the first graduate to achieve a straight A average in earning an Associate of Arts degree. She was also the recipient of the first annual "Excellence in Math" award established by the Mathematics Department.
>
> It was a long way from Bendzin, Poland to Orchard Ridge but Abraham Beitner completed the trek at age 78 with his first college credit class. A successful West Bloomfield businessman, Beitner was born in Poland when it was ruled by the Czar of Russia, immigrated to Canada, and eventually to the U.S. Without a high school diploma, he was surprised that Oakland would permit him to take college classes as a retiree.
>
> As a high school sophomore Julie Greenberg was encouraged by her parents to take a community college course. By the time she graduated as valedictorian from North Farmington High, she had accumulated enough credits to enroll at the University of Michigan as a second-semester sophomore saving herself and her family thousands of dollars and considerable time. An honors diploma-holder in Computer Engineering, Julie later earned a graduate degree at M.I.T.

> Dressed in flowing white robes, sporting a neatly-rolled turban and a long, but sparse, brown beard, Saddhu Singh sat cross-legged in the classroom hallway surrounded by three female devotees similarly attired in Eastern garb. The College's unofficial guru, Singh had experimented with the drug scene before being attracted to thoughts of the mystic East. Always willing to spread his doctrines as a guest speaker, he also taught Yoga classes in the College's non-credit program. Years later, when the revolution had ended, guru (now Mark Vosko) would shave his beard, shed the robes, and levitate for real to become an airline pilot as well as a licensed chiropractor.

Because of the fluid nature of college programs and no limitation on how long completion took, many students had tenures of five and even 10 years at the two-year institution. Some parents charged no room and board if their sons and daughters were enrolled, and they were upset when Federal confidentiality rules forbade them from seeing their offspring's grades. Others blamed the College for transformations in their youngsters' behavior as my notes of a conference reveal: "Bruce was described by his parents as being brilliant and a charmer. Since joining a fraternity at OCC, he has begun to grow long hair and stay out late at night and function poorly at school." To influence proper behavior Oakland's original Student Handbook announced that alcoholic beverages were forbidden but made no mention of other drugs. It even included a section on "Dress" which read:

> Appropriate dress is expected of all students at all times. Recognizing that a well-dressed person casts a fine image, it follows that a student body appropriately dressed at all times will cast a fine image for the College.

Although concerned about proper decorum on the campus, Oakland, like most institutions during the decade, would abandon its position of parental overseer (in loco parentis) as rules of conduct became fewer and young people were considered mature enough to make correct decisions.

At the first dance held on September 11, 1965 at Highland the Dean estimated that almost 4,000 students and guests attended and that "behavior was beyond reproach." Different actions would be recorded in the 1965-66 ANNUAL REPORT under "discipline"---cheating, abusive language, and misuse of property (a euphemism for theft) were cited as problems subject to disciplinary procedures. The only drug contact listed was alcohol possession and being under the influence of same. It was apparent that more exotic substances had not yet arrived on campus. A review of Public Safety incident reports over the next few years showed a variety of offenses, some common, others creative. Gambling on card, "strip" poker, petty thefts, and marijuana possession were most often named. Those of

a sexual nature were probably no more common than those found off campus: steamy car windows in parking lots, males exposing themselves and masturbating against the window of a night class in session, and the unsolicited fondling of coeds. With any complex organization and large numbers of individuals there were some paradoxes. One exhibitionist, a repeat offender, couldn't understand why he was arrested for exposing himself when the College was paying models to remove all their clothes in the nearby figure drawing class. Campus creativity was most noticeable in bathroom graffiti revealing morbid humor and youthful disrespect:

> Man made alcohol, God made weed.
> Who do you trust?
>
> Get out of Vietnam: Make love, not war!
>
> Re: Richard Nixon---Where is Lee Harvey Oswald
> Now that we need him?
>
> Hey,kids! Get revenge against your parents for everything they did to you when you were young. Shock the shit out of them by joining our huge May Day demonstration. So, come on, gang. Joint the Revolution and get REVENGE!

Similar lack of reverence was shown by a group of black students in a locker room conversation:

> Did you hear that Robert Kennedy was shot?
> No, did he die?
> No, man. Honkies don't die; they go to Hollywood.

Some of these written and verbal reactions were the acting out of frustrations; others were simply designed for attention. A 60s rock group, Dr. Hook, had implored budding stars to get their picture on the cover of ROLLING STONE. A few Oakland students would get their picture on the front page of campus papers by "streaking"---running naked through the Activities building for all to see. The national pastime was celebrated by comic/musician Ray Stevens in a hit song called "The Streak." Although bold enough to scamper in the nude, the males usually hid behind stocking or ski masks. With lots of skin showing, one energetic streaker dashed through the crowded student center and, losing his sense of direction, ran into the bookstore instead of out the exit as planned. When a reporter from the student newspaper came running for the Dean's reaction, I simply commented, "After you've had a bombing and a race riot on campus, it's hard to get excited about people racing around without any clothes."

While streaking proved an interesting diversion there was, indubitably, a major change in mores during this decade on Oakland's campuses. In the domain of dress, style, and costume, anything was possible. The anti-establishment protest against shaving, perfume, and deodorant companies produced an abundance of the unwashed and the unadorned. When one walked across campus behind a group of students you prayed for the wind to blow away from you. In addition, language changed; the norm became more open, free, and extremely descriptive. Mario Savio's Free Speech Movement was copied across the country and at OCC. The male enclave of scatology---swearing, blaspheming---was pierced by female voices. "Fuck you" resounded across the campus, and the maligned mothers of America became the descriptive adjective for every sexual and non-sexual act imaginable. The air was blue as future mothers of America threw the expletives about without seeing any connection with their own self-abasement. Such expressions would presage a re-examination of the meaning of obscenity: at neighboring Schoolcraft College the governing board in 1969 would "severely reprimand" five faculty members for signing a student anti-war petition containing a large, obscene word, and suspended a student for wearing a sweatshirt using similar descriptions. Within a short time, Oakland's Board would be faced with an analogous case.

For a portion of Oakland's students it would be argued that their primary preoccupation became themselves, understood in the narrowest sense. They did believe in something: in having a good time and doing their own thing. For some males it was a case of self-preservation. At the community college, escaping the hated military draft was quite easily done: come up with enough money to enroll in 12 credits (full-time attendance), get up early enough to spend time in the student rathskellar, shoot pool, rap with former high school chums, and wait out the Vietnam war. Easy enough, also, because academic dismissal was virtually unknown. It was possible to register for two semesters and attend sporadically before being discovered by the computer as a "non-performing student." If successful in making an appeal for the time "to find myself" and "needing space," students could be awarded additional semesters on probation. For many the sole compulsion for going to class was to capitalize on opportunities to interrupt lectures with political diatribes, and then move on to the next entertainment. Much of the diversion was provided by rock music, and as College leaders worried about lagging enrollment, outdoor concerts were organized much to the chagrin of the Campus Public Safety officers. One filed this report after a

particularly raucous event:

> At approximately 12:35 Office Hall called stating that Rock Festival was about to get underway and he was in dire need of assistance. Well, anyhow, we had a good group---between 6,000 and 8,000. The most cars I have ever seen at the campus, plus 250-300 motorcycles. Heap big night!

Despite the rock aficionados and the malingerers, Oakland students who transferred to universities did as well as their counterparts already there after a small grade point average (GPA) decline their first semester. In 1969, President Hill boasted about 98 students who had come to OCC with less than a C average but who had later graduated from senior colleges, noting that many would not have done so without the availability of the local community college. In an analysis of grades from 1967-74, Dr. Bill Stuart and I found that there was a dramatic shift to higher grades at the College as D's became almost nonexistent. Passing grades stayed stable during the seven-year period at 68 percent and there were rising percentages of B's and A's. All academic departments gave more high marks and the percentage of A's increased from 13 to 33 percent. Oakland did eventually enroll better prepared students during this period and the ending of the military draft removed a less serious group, but the phenomenon of "grade inflation" by the faculty parallelled trends found in state and national studies. However, dissection of grades would be of little interest to those intrigued with more interesting events and a concatenation of rebel activities would serve that purpose. During this decade new substances would be experimented with, human sexuality would be more openly discussed and practiced, the politicization of Oakland's students would occur, and rebellion would rear its ugly head in the form of protests over drugs, Vietnam, and College financial policies affecting students.

Getting High on Almost Anything

Illegal drug use reached epidemic proportions on the nation's campuses in the 60s and 70s but came relatively late to Oakland. As noted earlier, the drug of choice was alcohol; the collegiate "beer bust" was a staple in cartoons and in Hollywood. As a first-year Counselor at Auburn I don't recall ever smelling marijuana on campus; as an Orchard Ridge Dean six years later I seldom entered a hallway without the sweetly-pungent odor being noticeable indicating a major change in student habits. The earlier attitude toward drugs was described by Julie Armitage, the Auburn Queen in 1968, when she was asked about drinking, smoking, and sex:

> From what I can see at the larger colleges, drinking and

> smoking are made such that a person feels he has to do those things in order to be popular. I don't think that's necessary myself.
> Most people really don't put down anyone who doesn't drink or smoke. I don't see why anyone has to say, How come you don't drink or smoke? You must be odd or something.
> I find other pleasure. This is the same way I feel there's too much sex just for the sake of sex.

Hers would become a minority opinion as teens moved beyond tobacco to marijuana (pot/grass) which could be purchased in 1967 at .25 a joint or $10 an ounce. A psychedelic drug subculture made its way across the country from Haight-Asbury in San Francisco and was glamorized in music and celluloid. By the early 1970s, 11 percent of high school students used marijuana on a daily basis and most brought this habit to college. In 1967, only five percent of college students reported they had smoked pot; by 1971 this figure skyrocketed to 42 percent. Students who had not tried a substance a year later would be in a minority on their campuses. Usage became so prevalent that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare concluded in 1976 that, more than a passing fad, marijuana had joined such drugs as alcohol, tobacco, and caffeine as part of the national lifestyle. In a survey of 670 community colleges a year earlier I found that 40 percent of them provided drug abuse information and that their health centers were treating over 10 percent of their students for acute drug reactions. Impersonal statistics fail to delineate the addiction costs and emotional burdens of the users' families. In an account to the Provost, Dean Godbold at Orchard, explained that parents complained that their daughter had been smoking marijuana since enrolling at the College. They claimed that she bought it at the campus and indicated to them that "90 percent of the students at OCC are smoking it and feels that probation is the worst penalty that can be derived if caught." When I became Dean in 1970 pot was prevalent and overdoses with ambulances coming to the campus were weekly occurrences. Attempts were made by the College nurse and counselors to educate people about the dangers but there were few in attendance at special seminars. Students who ingested substances had already made their choices and didn't want to be confused by the facts.

Outside influences impacted on the campus environment as sources of supply were readily available in suburbia. In 1973, one of my colleagues, a supervisor at Parke-Davis Pharmaceutical Company in Detroit, called to say that six drums of quaaludes (600,000 tablets) worth $300,000 on the street had been stolen. Within a week the incidence of quaalude overdose doubled at OCC. While not ignoring smoking, our Public Safety officers in cooperation with local police concentrated on preventing sales of pot. On a wide scale, the College created a Consortium for Human Development with a Center for Drug Studies which, along with wide

representation, offered programs aimed at education and prevention. Not everyone was in agreement when drug issues were raised because research on negative effects was inconclusive. Pros and cons of drug usage were debated on the pages of Highland's THE PEOPLE'S PAPER from 1971-73 with elaboration given to a "National Bust Day." Students were to march to their nearest "cop shop" and turn themselves in holding joints and bags; this action would show authorities that they were outnumbered in the pot surge. To try to process all the marijuana users for lack of time, cells, and resources, was a waste.

Young people argued that pot was less harmful than alcohol and campaigned for the release from prison of John Sinclair, a local hippie leader, who was serving two years for possessing two marijuana cigarettes.* Claiming this was cruel and usual punishment for a purely social activity, youth joined campus demonstrations in support of de-criminalization efforts. Some ventured to nearby Ann Arbor where a crowded "Hash Bash" at the U of M included a State legislator, Perry Bullard.** Confused young people were further bewildered when uniformed and plainclothes police made no moves to arrest the smokers. Nor could they comprehend why pot was illegal but sales of paraphernalia needed to smoke it---pipes, bongs, roach clips, papers---was a legal, multi-million dollar business. Those returning from the Bash turned out to support a June, 1972 OCC meeting of the Michigan Marijuana Initiative which declared June 24-30 as "Weed Week" and passed out bumper stickers emblazoned with the motto "Let It Grow." Legalization would continue to be a battle for some time.***

OCC Deans of Students took the position that we would treat substance abuse of any kind as a counseling problem which observing the revised conduct rules that included marijuana and other illegal drugs. We also recognized that the late 60s and early 70s were a time of heightened experimentation that would run its course. Violators were treated as campus discipline cases and not offenders to be sent immediately to jail. It could be argued that the young had learned well lessons from their elders: when under stress or in a social setting, "mellow out" with a joint instead of an evening cocktail. The 70-plus percent of Americans who used a legal drug, alcohol, were now confounded by their children who wanted to use an illegal one for the same purpose. Deans who were

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*· While not guaranteed to be totally drug-free, Sinclair became at least more acceptable on college campuses. In September, 1989 he was hired by Wayne State University to teach a three-credit class,"Music of Today," in the department of music.

** The 1988 Bash attracted over 400 smokers and was sponsored by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML). Again, there were no arrests of smokers.

***TIME magazine's cover story on May 23, 1988 was on the topic of legalizing drugs, and the Detroit FREE PRESS' reader's opinion found 51 percent favored the legalization of marijuana during the same month.

patient turned out to be correct:by 1975 the experimenting was over, little usage was noted on campus, and smoking of pot was being done elsewhere. The smell of marijuana was an anachronism at Oakland; the ambulances no longer sirened in, and beer had once again become the drug of choice.

Who's Getting Laid and Why?

When Spring comes to the college campus the flowers bloom, the grass (not pot) turns green, dormant life comes alive, baseballs and frisbees take to the air, and the thoughts of young men and women turn to love, or at least to sex. One popular song of this period revealed some of the changing norms with this line: "If you can't be with the one you love, love the one you're with." The sex lives of college students during the 60s and 70s became a principal research interest of social-psychologists, but very little of it included students like Oakland's. Although the popular press of the day would have one believe differently, the Kinsey Institute found students more sexually-experienced in 1968 than in 1948. Sexual relations seemed to have become more open but not necessarily more frequent. Bathroom graffiti at Auburn Hills gave humorous warnings about sex:

> Dear Mom, I don't mean to tease,
> But I think I'm coming home with a social disease.

Freewheeling interpersonal relationships of the decade's "Free Love" became a two-edged sword as college students became familiar with PCPs but not the symptoms of STDs (sexually-transmitted diseases). A byproduct of the free love practices was a sizable increase in venereal disease statistics. What had previously been a joke to many (one of my students kept insisting to his Marriage and Family professor that "VD was nothing to clap about"), now became a personal, embarrassing medical problem. What had been bandied about as "free love" came to have an unexpectedly expensive price tag. What was free not became evident in itches, rashes, and genital warts as well as the real complication---unwanted pregnancies. Social observers of youth's sexual practices noted a unique field day for horny males as the climate for female exploitation became ripe. The verbal lines leading to seduction that had previously failed now produced fertile results. Free love became the convenient euphemism for sex in the eros sense. The agape aspect of love, a banner of the 60s social movement, became for most youths, as foreign as the Greek derivatives. "What do you

mean 'giving'?" asked one of my 19 year-old Romeos, "I was in the business of 'taking' sexual advantage whenever, wherever, and with whoever I could. These are great times." I recalled that one of my Western Michigan University professors used to say that the real purpose of college was to reduce the amount of time thinking about the opposite sex from 80 to 60 percent. This reduction was accomplished by drinking cheap beer, playing touch football, or even reading books. Sexual interests were continually on the agendas of community college students during this era, but class requirements, working schedules, commuting distances, and nonexistent dorms made liaisons difficulty. More and more community colleges became cognizant of changing sexual behaviors and made some adjustments. My national survey, undertaken in 1972 and repeated five years later, showed that 33 percent of the 670 responding institutions provided contraceptive information (up from 21 percent earlier), but only 7 percent dispensed contraceptives (up from 2 percent in the first survey). It would take a larger epidemic of STDs and another decade for condoms to be openly available on campus.

While nobody knows how many coeds and visitors were impregnated in parked cars, behind bushes, or in vacant classrooms at OCC, there is evidence that sex was on the minds of students, faculty, and staff, and this topic found its way occasionally in the news. Most of the publicity was precipitated by the art department students who appeared to be caught in a permanent genitalia warp. It began when a group of aroused women marched into the Provost's office to demand that the male models remove their jock straps since female models were completely nude. After blanching, Dr. James Manilla reluctantly agree that they had a legitimate point. On hearing the story, one art professor commented that the Provost's motto was "No nudes is good news." At the time, some items in the student newspapers were considered obscene, and a freedom-of-the-press battle was being fought. In its defense, the Orchard RECORDER argued that its "art" was as good as that found in the art department. The paper published a photo of a student building a giant snow sculpture of a penis, and an article critical of the Provost for kicking it down on his way to lunch. Following this episode, that area of the campus would be referred to derogatorily by students as the "Provost's Penis." At the same time, in the building adjacent to the Provost's office the art department had hung an exhibit of huge ceramic buttocks and frontal torsos, and lined the walls with several large chalk drawings of reclining nudes in erotic poses. After telling Dr. John Davenport, department chairman, that the show was well hung, I jokingly commented, "Here I am, like Batman, fighting obscenity all over the world, and you put it up right next door." My office received no complaints about the nude art show but several phone callers denounced the penis photo story. While I was in the midst of responding to the calls, an art student came to request permission to display in the hallway and wanted my opinion. Going

next door to the studio area, he proudly showed me a five-foot, fur-covered penis sculpture complete with six-foot alabaster wings protruding, like serpents, ceilingward. I asked him what it was called and he replied, "The Great White Hope." Without further comment, I suggested he try the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Further controversy would mark the art faculty when Professor Ted Striewski won first prize at the Michigan State Fair with a "Let It All Hang Out" five-foot long, molded plastic form in assorted colors and which looked like a semi-abstract representation of male genitalia. Headlines in the Detroit NEWS read "Dirty Art Roils Fair Aides" and quoted Fair Vice-President Alfred Glancy who said that the sculpture was "an atrocious, dirty thing, that should not be shown among the cookies and quilts." At Orchard he could have seen several rooms of similar art objects representing the equipment of both sexes.

In a more positive gender category, many women spoke up for their rights during this decade; the result was a women's athletic program begun in 1974, and the creation of women's centers catering to the needs of both campus and community. Combining efforts with the Student Activities offices, women at each campus were able to set up child care facilities to accommodate working and single mothers.

The sexual history of Oakland's students is probably like that of most of the country, more talked about than acted upon. As, as those sexologists always seem to conclude, "more research is needed."*

The Revolution Comes to Oakland

On a wider scale certainly, rebellion was the leit motiv of the 60s and the mid-70s but community colleges suffered less from student activism than did their upper-division partners. Unrest and disturbances flourished among liberal arts students at senior institutions, whereas there were few eruptions among engineering or vocational students. For most, the epic political struggles of these times were little more than background noise to their lives.

While the majority went to class, kept up with assignments, and drove to their jobs, and increasing number joined the coterie of political activists who would affect Oakland's decision-makers, particularly from 1968 to 1973. Some of the student leaders would be identified by the trappings of outside forces: hippie styles, Army and Navy Store military duds, ersatz Black Panther outfits, and whatever combination had been worn by protesters on the evening TV news. It was a time of nonconformity as long as one conformed to the norms of one's reference group. Major protest headlines

* Although little has been written about the sexual activities of community college students, Dr. Jude Cotter, OCC professor of social science, has been collecting data for the past decade and will be publishing his findings in 1991.

were garnered by militant blacks, various drug devotees, anti-war advocates, and others proclaiming socio-political revolution. Even though the protest at Wounded Knee in 1973 got the momentary attention of the national media, it generated hardly a puff of wind to move feathers at two-year colleges. With the smallest percentage of any minority enrolled, few Native American students used the South Dakota episode to rise up in anger on the campuses of America.

Because its own campuses had been quiet for almost five years, Oakland was lulled into a false sense of security. LIFE magazine would assist in maintaining this impression with its 1971 New Year's cover story "The Un-Radical Young" citing a Harris Poll that predicted no chaotic future for 15-21 year-olds who agreed with their parents' values (73%) and who were "happy with life"(90%). Admitting that college students were a little "more skeptical and progressive" than their younger brothers and sisters, the Poll found no major obstacle in inter-generational understanding. This sample's heroes were Robert Kennedy, Bill Cosby, Neil Armstrong and John Wayne; its non-heroes were Fidel Castro, Eldridge Cleaver, George Wallace, and Ho Chi Minh.

Unknown to LIFE, the vocal activists at Oakland were more interested in the non-heroes, and they were the ones loved by the media because they were the news-makers. Optimists were ignoring the reality that the CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION had headlined six months earlier: "Demonstrations Occur at Rate of One a Day in 1970: Major Protests Hit Michigan, Washington U." Research on 94 junior colleges in 34 states found student unrest to be very rare and, where found, involved primarily non-physical protest. Conditions involving food services, dress codes, student publications and representation on policy-making bodies were most subject to criticism and protest. It wasn't a case of suburban students being totally docile because Oakland had some experiences in 1966 that, if attended to, would have helped avoid later chaos. On September 20, 1966 the President's Executive Staff minutes relate that two student representatives from Auburn had visited Vice-President Jim Hobson to complain about unsanitary conditions arising from a custodial staff strike. The representatives indicated that a contingent of their peers, sympathetic to the strikers, was contributing to the pressure on the College by throwing papers around different buildings. Hobson stressed that the situation was reaching serious proportions and that the Provost must take steps to overcome disciplinary problems. At the same meeting the Provost stated that fraternities and sororities were concerned about the lack of official information getting to faculty and staff. Some students thought their complaints on other issues to be significant enough to seek redress in the courts.

Legal recourse was particularly common for novice nurses who over the years sued the College for $33 million about admission standards, grades, and the actions of professors. A cadre of their

peers, believing that the campus bookstores were ripping them off, got permission to operate their own used book exchange which took texts on consignment. After two semesters the cooperative venture, heavy with good intentions designed to save their peers money, went the way of most communes which blossomed during the 1960s, and for the same reasons. The used book co-op died from lack of cooperative spirit and the boredom of putting in long hours after initial excitement of the experiment wore off. In like fashion, another group at Orchard Ridge got permission to establish a newsstand to provide alternate selections to those available locally. Announcing that the stand would carry "any publication that has ever been published," except those that the advisor and staff "deem to be wholly or in part prurient or violent enough to be considered exhortative to unstable minds." Despite this limitation, the stand carried THE BLACK PANTHER and the socialistic, anti-everything SDS:NEW LEFT NOTES, one issue of which exhorted;

> Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party was arrested on bullshit charges; it was a political arrest and an attempt by the racist power structure to destroy the Panthers and their revolutionary program for the Black community.

After generating white, middleclass community ire and administrative rebukes, the newsstand went the way of the co-op bookstore, dying when the glamour and turmoil subsided.

Domestic student uprisings were mild compared with those developing outside Oakland County, and attention to those caused President Hill to issue an Emergency Situation Data sheet to all Provosts on November 1, 1968 listing phone numbers of local law enforcement agencies, and authorizing the Provosts to contact them "only if conditions were sufficiently serious in their considered judgment." Such actions became good advice as campuses began to heat up into what became a guerilla warfare between activist students and nervous administrators struggling to protect their turf. On January 6, 1970, the agenda for the Student Personnel Advisory Board contained these items:

1. The role of an ecumenical ministry on OCC campuses.
2. Should individual religious student organizations be approved to operate on campus?
3. Accident reporting procedures.
4. Posture of the College relating to:
   a. student activism
   b. SDS: Students for a Democratic Society
   c. Moratorium Days.
5. Coordination of the Testing Program.
6. Scholarships for staff of campus newspaper.

7. Reaction to the Department of Public Safety proposal.
8. Revision and implementation of Health proposal.

In light of the explosions that would occur on OCC's campuses within the next 18 months and noting the first two agenda items, the meeting should probably have opened with prayer.

Like most governing bodies, Oakland's Board was insulated from these proceedings, only to become aware when the masses congregated at public meetings after the fires of protest were already burning. This is not to say that the Board went into hiding on its own accord. Evidence of the Trustees' attempt at openness is a July 24, 1970 memorandum requesting "meetings with the staff and students of the College on a reasonably regular basis." It was suggested that the student meetings be structured to avoid strictly the "rap session" kind of thing but that open discussions of attitudes, accomplishments, and problems be permitted. This honest gesture, not widely broadcast to students in general, would open Pandora's box as uninvited representatives with personal agendas took advantage of a forum rarely available. Employing more accessible forums, students got local newspapers to announce a three-day class boycott in 1970 to protest the dismissal of a campus Public Safety officer who had proposed that uniforms be eliminated "in favor of less objectional and more personal dress" and that all weapons be taken away from officers except during registration times when large amounts of money are on campus. The boycott, sponsored by the campus newspaper, failed when the Student Government withdrew its support "because it wasn't their role to protest."

In March, 1970, a sit-in at Orchard Ridge would set the pattern for Oakland protests for the following two years, and along with the Vietnam issue, included the primary sources of discontent--tuition increases, control of student activity fees, concerns of black students, and access to administrative and faculty decision-makers. This particular incident was described by the Dean of Students, Dr. Walter Westfall:

> On Thursday, March 26, 1970, I received word of a possible student sit-in the administration building for Friday, March 27. Reportedly this was to be a sympathy movement on the part of OCC students for the University of Michigan Black Action Movement activity. Signs were posted through the campus advertising the sit-in.
>
> Don Stevens (Central Office security head) was alerted to the sit-in and I contacted Marv Moran (acting Financial Aids Officer) regarding specific information pertaining to the racial composition of our College.
>
> At about 12:10 P.M., a group of about 25 students, led by Mike

Sutherland, sat in the reception area of M Building. There was no attempt to prevent the counseling area from operating in a normal manner. The students were seated on the chairs and were discussing among themselves when I approached them. I remained in the area until approximately 1:20 P.M. During this time, they asked the following questions of me:

1. Is it true that tuition will be increased for out-of-District students?
2. Why should the tuition be increased?
3. Why should the black students from Wayne County have to pay more that the white students who are affluent in Oakland County?
4. What is the percentage of black students at Orchard?
5. What is the percentage of black students in the County?
6. What types of scholarships are available for blacks?
7. What plans are underway for developing a curriculum oriented to the black student?
8. How are student activities fees used"?
9. Why doesn't the Board of Trustees meeting with the students?
10. Would the Board be willing to meet with the students at a designated place and time to discuss the proposed tuition increase?
11. What is the Dean of Students' personal opinion regarding the Black Action Movement at the U of M?
12. How can students become more involved in curriculum development?

These questions were handled as they were asked. The most pressing concern was the effect of the tuition increases on the black student who lives out of Oakland County. There was a general feeling that the students would like to discuss this with the Board of Trustees as a group. When I indicated that this is only a remote possibility because of other obligations of the Board members, they indicated their willingness to speak with representatives from the Board. After discussion and questions had been answered, the students peacefully left the reception area.

It was clear from this administrative perspective that the Board's willingness to hear students had not filtered down the chain of command nor come to the attention of student leaders.

From this initial encounter, four groups, supported in varying degrees by students from all three OCC locations, would emerge: the

duly elected student governments, the Association of Black Students (ABS), the Student Mobilization Against the War (MOB), and the White Coalition, all endorsed, depending on the issue, by the power of print of student newspapers.

Within a short time student-authority relations were put to the test, again at Orchard, when white and black students occupied an area to establish a permanent "People's Room" where they could rap, smoke, play guitars, and study. Posters were hung stating "You Can't Jail the Revolution," "Power to the People," and "End Male Supremacy," and buttons were sold to raise defense money for the Chicago Seven. Protesting high prices and low quality of the campus cafeteria, students began to prepare sandwich lunches as competition to the College food service operation. In a memo to President Hill, Dr. Godbold explained that he was "monitoring the situation and hope to avoid confrontation which, we feel based on contacts we've already had, is a strong intent on the students' part by virtue of how they react when we talk with them." One Dean described the "People's Room" as a pilot program in student self-government and another said it was just a bunch of hippies: "Jacks who looked like Jills and smelled like johns." Before it, too, ran out of steam, the Room offered programs like the following:

MASS ANTI-RACIST RALLY!

Demonstrate grief and shock over eight recent black deaths at the hands of the National Guardsmen.

Participate in the foundation (sic) of alternative organizations totally responsive to the needs of students.

Come See Movies and Hear Raps!
THE PEOPLE's ROOM

FREE DAY CARE CENTER

Women! If you want to help organize a free child-care center here for students and workers on this campus, come to a meeting.

THE PEOPLE'S ROOM
4th floor, J Building

These events served notice that Oakland's students had become sufficiently politicized to cause administrators to scurry to find ordinances on trespassing and the right of assembly.

The Vietnam War Comes to Suburbia

By 1970, activists on OCC's campuses had an opportunity to see if the girls of the Shirells' hit song "Soldier Boy" would be true to their comrades who went marching off to a Vietnam that some of them had trouble spelling. Many would not return and many who did found that not only had their girlfriends forgotten them, so had most of the country. Keeping the spirit of an anti-war Vietnam alive was the tour de force of a militant few at Oakland who employed some clever strategies. The earliest reference to Southeast Asia occurred in Tirrell's PRESIDENTIAL NEWSLETTER in September, 1966; it complimented Highland students who, in a month-long book drive, had sent 16,000 paperbacks to Army installations in Vietnam. More ominous news came from Arnold Gelfman, a counselor, who kept abreast of the latest news on the military draft, regulations regarding deferments, and, of particular importance to many 18 year-olds making limited academic progress, the procedures for appealing 1-A status. At Auburn, a student left a note complete with skull and crossbones asking me to drop his class load to 10 credits because "I'm 1-A now and I don't see how I can be more '1-A er' than I already am."

In these early days of familiarity with the war, some news came with less-threatening overtones. A press release in November, 1969 announced that All-American cross-country runner Donald Balkwell from the Highland campus was named as a coach of the Vietnam Track team in Saigon. An Army specialist, Balkwell was helping prepare the team for the Southeast Asian Games to be held in Burma. A month later an Ad Hoc December Moratorium Committee of Orchard's Academic Senate decorated a "Peace Tree" to publicize its stand in favor of an immediate end to the hostilities. Anti-war "teach-ins" arrived at the College when the Highland Lakes Division of Business and Social Science, along with the Student Government, sponsored a two-day affair featuring speakers from Michigan State, the University of Michigan, Detroit, and other civic groups from the tri-county metropolitan area. Orchard featured a similar effort, kicked off by Dr. Hill, which included news media spokespersons, faculty, and which spotlighted a panel discussion by the Vietnam Veterans Club. In tandem with this latter group, Orchard's Student Mobilization Committee (MOB) was the prime mover in articulating opposition to the Asian involvement. In a conversation with one of its representatives, Keith Burrell, the Dean, Walter Westfall, made these notes which reveal some of the dominant activities related to campus groups and their views:

1. The MOB organization at Orchard is affiliated with the national group in one way, and in another it is not. The printed materials from the national group are sold to the local chapter. They are resold at about double the purchase price. This is a source of funding for the organization.

2. The Orchard Ridge organization is hurting financially and will seek opportunities to sell its literature.

3. MOB has access to a printing press, typewriter, desk, and space at this time. The location and specifics are unknown.

4. The relationship between MOB and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is fluid and apparently will continue to vary. The SDS is viewed by MOB as being extremely radical and too much to the left. At the same time, MOB sees itself as the defender of SDS when the chips are down. MOB described SDS as being more active and possibly violent in its operation.

5. The membership of MOB last year had at its maximum total about 40. In just two weeks of this year, over 60 active members have enrolled, with over 400 expressing interest in MOB's activities. They expect more than 600 students to be involved in its activities within a short time.

6. The current freshman student was described as being more active, alert, and involved in issues than last year's freshman. This year's freshman was described as more interested in action and seeing change occur rather than just talking about it.

7. The Academic Senate was viewed as being an ineffective organ for the students' voice. Likewise, the ideas discussed by the Senate were the same old things with new wrappings. The role of the student in the Academic Senate is being reconsidered by MOB.

8. Mr. Burrell indicated that he is an organizer and not a leader. There are local leaders arising within the organization who could easily override an suggestions or recommendations he might make.

As losses in Vietnam mounted, campus emotions became more intense: student newspapers refused to take ads from ROTC programs and military recruiters bore the brunt of militants' anger. In February, 1971, I was called from lunch to quell a disturbance provoked by South Vietnam's invasion of Laos with U.S. air support; students had overturned the table of an Air Force recruiter and the crowd was threatening him. We regularly received calls from the FBI on teach-in days asking about Communist infiltration, and undercover local police were always around. In this heated climate, and after much debate, the Orchard Senate expressed the views of an exasperated professoriate:

> The Academic Senate, representing 142 instructors and 5,245 college students, strongly urges the government of the United States of America to bring an immediate end to the violence in Vietnam. We recognize that questions of national prestige, international politics, ideology and economics are involved in the American commitment in Vietnam. We see these, however, as essentially amoral considerations that cannot, of themselves, justify continuation of the organized killing and mayhem represented by the Vietnam War.
>
> As guardians and transmitters of humane values, we cannot accept the responsibility before humanity that our continued silence on this subject would entail. We suggest that there is a greater loyalty than loyalty to country. Governments, and we are citizens of this government, have a responsibility to mankind that supersedes national interest. We further suggest that the United States is now in a unique position to advance civilization and alter the future course of nations on the basis of loyalty to the family of man by creating the new historical precedent of a major world power able to admit that it has made a mistake.

Along with resolutions, attention was directed to campus flagpoles which contained symbols that many wanted to alter. Almost annually during the 70s the Academic Senates passed proclamations demanding that the American flag be flown at half-staff for the duration of the Vietnam struggle. Although the Board of Trustees never agreed to this extreme request, there were several episodes of flag-lowering. Following a Student Government, MOB, and Vietnam Veterans joint resolution, I helped representatives from each organization do the ceremonial deed. When some militants insisted that it be flown upside-down as a distress signal, I yanked it, in a brief tug-of-war, to half-mast as the resolution had stated. In 1972 the Senate requested the distress symbol but it was never acceded to; no did the Trustees condemn President Nixon's Vietnam policies as petitioned by the Student-Faculty Committee for Peace. Support was given the national effort by the People's Peace Treaty, and several staff members went marching off to regional and national anti-war rallies. A highlight of the movement was the March on Washington. As a social-psychologist I went with other professors to study the crowd phenomenon, and as a pacifist, I wanted to send a message to Mr. Nixon. While being strongly anti-military, as a Dean I had to be sure that College policies were implemented, while glancing over my shoulder at public opinion in a conservative, upper class, white community. Phones rang excessively when citizens saw the flag flying in altered positions, heard that flags were burned on campus, or were worn inappropriately on blouses or jeans as

political expressions.

Opposition to Vietnam was not unanimous and some complications arose when a student-faculty request was made to have the following notice typed for duplication:

> The Kent State Massacre and the Asian War will be discussed by guest speakers and the people.

Disagreeing with the word "massacre," department secretaries refused to type the announcement of a scheduled noon rally. Berated by the students ("It's people like you who are responsible for the war in Cambodia; I bet you voted for Nixon."), the secretaries filed a complaint with local police and several meetings were held to resolve the conflict. These discussions resulted in a 13-page account of the attempt at resolution that was filed for future reference.

Emotions, indeed, ran very high no matter what terminology was used. It is interesting to see how responses change over time, however, as the case of another patriotic symbol reveals. A tactic of the black student protest was evident at athletic events when, during the playing of the National Anthem, they simply refused to stand. Within a short time, black students were joined by white radicals out of sympathy for their protest, and the anthem was played to a primarily sitting audience. In response, the College administrators abruptly stopped playing the national anthem before games, and from that time on it was no big deal. In fact, for the next decade and a half, after Vietnam and Black Power were forgotten, no one asked why the "Star-Spangled Banner" was missing at special events.

For all anti-war groups at OCC the piece de resistance of the movement was the appearance of Jane Fonda at a rally in Orchard's amphitheatre. Pink posters announced her coming in revolutionary rhetoric of the times:

The Indochina Peace Campaign Urges You To Meet

Listen and Discuss Nixon's War In Indochina

With Indochina Peace Campaign Workers

JANE FONDA	and	TOM HAYDEN
Jane has recently been to Vietnam on a fact-finding tour		Tom has actively been involved in helping to free Prisoners of War

The posters went on the proclaim: "They are part of the Indochinese Peace campaign which is coming to the people with important analysis and information about the Indochina War and the lies Nixon is telling the American people. Since Nixon has been in office--January, 1969 through June 30, 1972---there have been 6 million victims in Indochina: People killed, wounded, captured, and made homeless."

Accompanied by Tom Hayden, a creator of the SDS returning home to neighboring Royal Oak, Fonda, dressed in jeans, striped navy shirt and vest, sans makeup, addressed a crowded, responsive gathering. Many were curious about the odd couple---a Hollywood starlet and a media radical---who were united by a far-off Asian war and who would eventually marry (and subsequently divorce). Other administrators and I would answer numerous callers upset with "Hanoi Jane" being allowed a rostrum in suburbia. She next called on Central Michigan University where Dow Chemical Company, tired of being criticized for its napalm production, cut off all future grants of aid to the university. Almost 20 years later Fonda became more famous not for protests or films but as an exercise guru making big money on videos and books. Such success prompted comedian Kevin Meaney to give his exercise alternative: "I do the Fonda Workout---the Peter Fonda Workout. I wake up, smoke a joint, and go over to my sister's house and ask her for money."*

Although not as glamorous as a visiting celebrity, the College's efforts to raise the consciousness of people desiring peace paid dividends, and when U.S. troops were withdrawn in 1973, the Vietnam protests miraculously ended.

All of the activities of this period would mesh with three forces that brought the College a degree of notoriety because the media spotlight would be focused on demands of a Coalition of white students to control activities funds, demands of black students to increase representation and influence at OCC, and the bombing of a building at the Orchard campus.

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* Some of Fonda's words and actions would reverberate for years. In June,1988 she gave a qualified apology to Vietnam veterans for her 1972 visit to Hanoi. Citizens of Waterbury, Connecticut had earlier denounced her plans to make a movie in their town.

Her picture in the paper a year after the OCC speech prompted a humorous aside: the photo showed Fonda in a maternity smock. At lunch we speculated if she had gotten pregnant during her visit. A Dean remarked: "Why not, lots of people have been screwed at OCC."

6

Money, Black Demands, and White Bombs

Man is born for trouble, and the sparks fly upward. Book of Job

Any demonstration that doesn't include a clash with police is a failure.
Stokely Carmichael

The first day of March, 1971 dawned like any other Michigan Winter month except this one had a grey, foreboding quality as if hinting that this would be a different kind of March. Bitter cold was in the air but something was unusual: the omnipresent biting winds were missing. For Deans at Oakland these absent winds would be replaced this March with gust of student discontent, a cacophony of clashes between whites and blacks, and the violence of white radicals from outside the College who would bring bombs. Headlines would blast forth statements recalling Caesar's Ides of March:

March 12, 1971 - "Students Protest Charges Misuse of Funds at OCC"

March 17, 1971 - "Did Racial Strife Bar Oakland College Accreditation?"

March 20, 1971 - "Double Bomb Blast Shakes Campus at Orchard Ridge"

Such newspaper accounts would disturb the evening rest of thousands of people in southeast Michigan as educators, citizens, protesters and police became mired in the Winter events at OCC. For 35 million insomniacs, lack of sleep is a plague, a Lady Macbeth desire for "sleep, the innocent sleep." In 34 years I had never had problems with the "Z-machine." Sleep came quickly, and, for one interested in dream psychology, resulted in intriguing dreams, and helped create a refreshed and invigorated early-riser. But now, sleep was different. Like Lady Macbeth, I found sleep elusive. The daily encounters with angry students, over-dosed drug experimenters, and unhappy faculty would not vanish when I lay down at night. Attempts at mind control, meditation, and experiments with relaxation techniques were tried without success. For this March and the next three months there was fitful sleep, unpleasant dreams, and non-restful nights as I struggled to keep up with campus battles.

Part of my plight could have been eliminated had I paid more attention to early signals of discontent and had access to records of problems occurring before I arrived as the Dean. The general judgment of community college leaders on student rebellion was that protest was housed in universities and wouldn't dare darken our local portals. Such naivete was based on fluid conditions that provided fewer opportunities or reasons for commuting students to congregate. Also, the entire administrative staff of the campus was new, having been appointed six months prior to the March outbursts, and was caught up in learning position responsibilities and handling daily problems, with meager time to read file reports.

Files do show initial attempts of student leaders to approach the Board of Trustees: in November, 1967, Joel Smith, editor of Highland's SECOND FRONT, and John Ash, Student Government president, wrote to request meeting time to address "grave problems at the Highland Lakes campus." Although the Board heard the two, the Secretary whit to inform them that Trustee regulations required seven days notice prior to the meeting and that presentations would not exceed 15 minutes. Apparently the Board's receptivity to student concerns mentioned earlier had specific time boundaries.

Read closely, campus newspapers gave obvious notices of student unhappiness: a 1969 Orchard RECORDER borrowed a quote from Jerry Farber of the Los Angeles FREE PRESS for the headline "Students Are Niggers" to complain about "the uptight, paternalistic faculty-administration combine" in the Academic Senate that refused to share power with students. Posters from a splinter Yippie faction of the campus SDS group (also small in number) called periodically for a boycott of the campus cafeteria ("because their hamburgers taste like deceased monkey paws") and for students' right to park in the faculty lot.

Strewn about all OCC campuses were copies of a "Pocket Lawyer of Legal First Aid" telling readers what they should do if faced with the reality of arrest: these were provided by the Detroit office of the White Panther Party. The file also revealed that the previous Dean of Students had called a meeting of faculty representatives on September 23, 1969 because the "possibility of overt student activism is becoming more and more imminent on our campus." Timing of this meeting was perfect because the "overt" occurred the next day with flyers announcing an unapproved SDS meeting in the amphitheater. Acting quickly, the Dean informed local and State police, with the latter sending five car loads of uniformed officers and plainclothes detectives. When only a small contingent of students arrived, the SDS moved to the Commons building where a crowd of 75 gathered to discuss the "Vietnam war, racism, capitalism, and injustices within society" while plainclothes officers remained on the fringes. Although the rally was peaceful and there were no arrests, one SDS speaker was

familiar to the authorities, as the Dean's notes explain:

> Detective Lentz, intelligence officer for the State police, checked his records regarding SDS activism and informed us that the female SDS member who is most outspoken regarding SDS philosophy is Karen Latimer, known professional agitator.
>
> She was arrested August 1, 1969 along with seven other girls at Macomb Community College for having burst into into a class, shouting obscenities, writing SDS slogans on the blackboard, and generally upsetting the examination that was being conducted. During the episode, she attacked several students and is currently on $1,000 bond for charges of assault and battery. On September 18, 1969 she was arrested for painting SDS slogans on a Detroit high school.

Although never sanctioned by any campus agency, an SDS cell group would be active until the end of the Vietnam era.

Cognizant that student militancy was increasing, the Board of Trustees approved an administrative regulation on disruptions in August, 1970 to accompany rules on petitioning, assembly, and distribution of leaflets and literature on campus. The College was also awarded a $51,145 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grant to conduct a regional conference on "Control of Student Revolt," and, although designed for security forces, I wondered at the time why campus administrators were not invited to attend. Another file document that was not shared with Deans was the voluminous Michigan Senate Committee Report on Campus Disorders and Student Unrest, 312 pages of investigation that concluded:

> In general, we can say that protest in Michigan is remarkably well distributed across issues, type of campuses and roles of respondents. There is no magic answer to student protest, no formula which will make it go away. The important thing is to see student protest as a symptom that needs attention. Other studies had indicated that protests rarely end in violence, but they do force the institution to change.
>
> In one case (not in Michigan), the students tried every legal structure in the university, every person, every committee, for a period of four years. Although they were polite and courteous, no one bothered to listen to them for four years. Then they locked the trustees in for 24 hours and got everything they wanted. (The administration later admitted that the students had been right.) If there is one lesson to be learned, it lies

> in the answer to this question: How can we build in the energy, the concern, the hard listening, the sense of crisis, which would allow institutions to change without protest?

In their staff discussions, the deans agreed that students were prompted to action when three factors converged: a large number experience a general feeling of irritation, a major issue or concern (such as Vietnam) causes them to rally, and a leadership appears to capitalize on a new or previously dormant organization. Although it tended to be a compromising force, the campus Student Government occasionally found fault with conditions that precipitated student unrest. Orchard's elected spokesman, John High, expressed it this way:

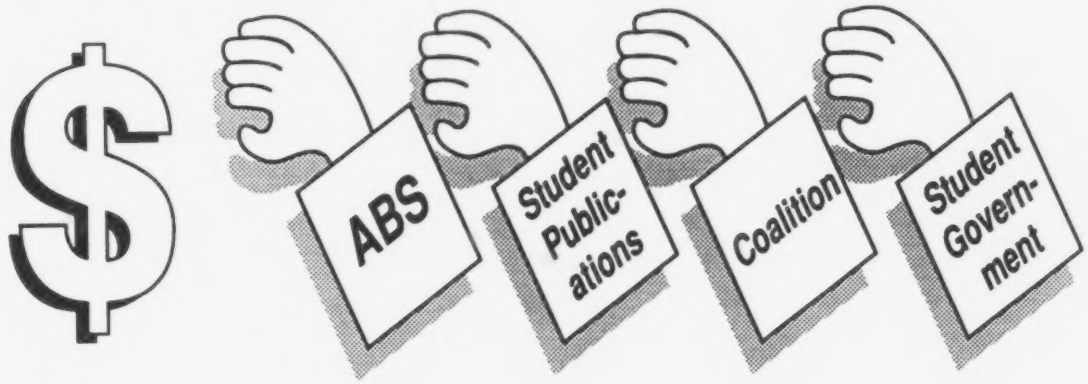
> When a governing body, whether it be Student Government, campus administration or Board of Trustees consistently consistently conceals its true motives from the student body, it risks their mounting skepticism. And when Deans, especially Associate Deans, consistently and systematically engage in paper-shuffling and buck-passing, and "secret and deceptive compromises," they are aiding and abetting the reasons for this skepticism.
>
> However, the most alarming and appalling contributor to this skepticism is the ability of these administrators to remain silent at a time which warrants administrative intervention and advice. This silence is understood by students as an automatic sanction of everything, from organizing and forming "anti" everything groups to monopolizing and undermining the the Student Body, and creating and spreading distruths (sic) and perpetuating paranoia and distrust for other administrators. It is no wonder then that in almost every campus disorder, the top-level administrators are always caught by surprise.

At Oakland a key issue fomenting a coalescence of several diverse groups was the Student Activity fee which was first levied in the Summer of 1969, charging each enrollee $1 per credit up to a maximum of $10. In a notice posted for all students, which also announced a mandatory attendance policy, use of funds generated was described: "The Student Activities fees are used to support various functions in the College, including cultural activities such as the Contrast series, dances, concerts and intramural athletics, student newspapers, literary publications and yearbooks, student government functions, student activities board, and clubs and organizations. Charging all students for these programs had a long history at OCC and every other college in America: the President's Council minutes of July 14, 1965, show approval for a $10 "registration fee" which

was non-refundable and "goes into a fund for Student Activities. These monies are to used in many and varied ways....put away for permanent buildings..., amortize costs of Student Unions..., and profits from vending machines will be pledged to the Student Union also." Of particular interest to later student activists was this notation:

> A committee should be set up to administer funds with a board of directors made up of faculty and student representatives to determine where money is to be directed. They will also determine ways of making money to support the Student Unions.

As the 1970 enrollment rose to 14,000, students saw the issue as huge sums of "student" monies to be controlled by students and the battle lines were quickly drawn. Becoming a cause celebre on all campuses, flamed by student newspaper feature stories, cartoons, and editorials, a coalition of militant white students, with smatterings of SDS, VVAW, and sundry hangers-on, made student fees the controversy of the hour. Although not officially members of the Coalition, the Association of Black Students would employ this key irritant as part of its own agenda for campus change.



On October 15, 1970, the Orchard Ridge Coalition members voiced their displeasure with proposed revisions in fee dispersals to the Board of Trustees which passed a motion to initiate dialogue between the administration and students regarding the allocation of activities funds. Subsequent discussions over the next month failed to resolve the sticky issue of control which administrators argued they legally could not relinquish to the students. On March 12, 1971, the Detroit NEWS reported that the Orchard students would seek an injunction prohibiting the "misuse of funds" by the College which decided to use student fees to pay off interest on student union buildings. Six days later the Coalition presented a list of six demands to the Board of Trustees:

1. We Demand---Student Control of Student Monies
   By this demand this body wants: A) adequate funds for student activities and B) control of the distribution of the allotted funds.

2. We Demand---That the Board of Trustees refund the Student Activities monies misappropriated by the Board starting in fiscal '70-71.
   The Orchard Coalition feels that the 21 percent student activities cut for fiscal '70-71 year was done in spite of overwhelming opposition by the student body. We demand retroactive payment of those misappropriated funds.

3. We Demand---A guarantee that the Board of Trustees will not try to manipulate student activities monies in the future.
   We demand legal assurance that the OCC Board will not in the future have the opportunity to mismanage student activity funds.

4. We Demand---Student powers in policies of the Cafeteria services and the Bookstores.
   By this demand we seek: A) Prices in the bookstores and cafeteria be determined by a committee comprised of 50 percent students and 50 percent administration. B) Quality and general policy in both services be dealt with by the same procedure.

5. We Demand---That students have equal participation in the hiring and firing of the faculty.
   The Coalition feels it necessary to the best interests of the students that their voice be heard equally in the hiring and firing of professors.

6. We Demand---Viable communication between administration and students on policy decisions and changes.
   The Coalition feels it is necessary to be immediately notified and consulted when administration policies and decisions are implemented which directly affect student interests.

Directing Dr. Hill and his staff to schedule meetings with the students, the Board urged quick resolution of the concerns raised. Voicing sympathy with issues raised, delegates from the Auburn and Highland campuses disavowed endorsement of the demands which originated essentially at Orchard. The first meeting scheduled for

March 22 was attended by 17 students representing the three campuses, the Deans, Vice-Presidents, and President Hill.* After defining taxation and bonding restrictions, Hill explained that Tirrell's administration had determined that each campus would be totally developed before the next, with Orchard being given preference. This meant that student centers at Auburn and Highland would wait years before completion. To obtain Federally-subsidized buildings, the College had to pledge profits from food and bookstore operations with the remainder coming from student assessments since it was illegal to use money from the College General Fund for this purpose. Wanting their centers constructed, representatives from Auburn and Highland again asked that the Coalition's demands be specified as Orchard only, and students from Extension classes questioned the need for any buildings since they had no student facilities at all. A five-hour meeting was held the next day at Orchard which produced these resolutions as recorded in the administrative report to the Trustees:

Demand #1 - Control of Student Fees

The representatives of the Coalition changed Demand #1 to include that each campus would utilize activity fees collected on that campus to cover the cost of construction of a student center there.

To compensate for the 21 percent reduction of Student Activities budgets for 1970-71 to cover the cost of interest on bonds issued for Orchard's J Building (paid out of student activity funds), a refund of monies allocated would be made. However, payment of these funds would be distributed over a 3-5 year period.

Additionally, students demand control of student activity funds.

Dr. Hill indicated this demand could not be met as funds collected through student activity fees at Auburn and Highland could not possibly cover the cost of construction of student centers there.

After continued discussion, Dr. Nunney suggested that current balances in Student Activity accounts should be determined, and funds from these balances should be allocated to defray the cost of interest on the proposed bond issues.

It is hoped that Mr. Nikkel (Vice-President for Business), through a revision in the bonding procedure, will be able to cut the required amount to cover interest charges. This cut, in addition to the proposed carryovers, may make it possible to reduce the percentage needed for fiscal year 1971-72 to a minimum.

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* In the midst of this tension a Dean colleague commented: "I've been going to so many Coalition meetings that my wife is accusing me of having an affair."

Representatives of the Coalition indicated that further research would have to be done on this proposal to indicate exact amounts and at this time their demand still stands that no portion of the 43.8 percent needed for construction of student centers should be taken from the Orchard Student Activity budget.

Demand #2 - Board Should Refund Misappropriated Monies

In view of the fact that the 21 percent cut for the fiscal year 1970-71 will not be continued, the representatives of the Coalition agreed to drop this demand.

Demand #3 - Guarantee Against Board Manipulation of Monies

The demand, as indicated, stands. Dr. Hill recommended that the students work through the proper channels to change the structure of the Student Activity budget committees.

Demand #4 - Student Powers: Cafeteria and Bookstores

The demands remain the same. Dr. Hill recommends that Dean Nichols reinstitute the committee previously established to act in an advisory capacity for the operation of the bookstores and cafeterias. Furniture in the Orchard rathskeller will be repaired or replaced, and students will have an opportunity to review the accounts relative to the bookstores and make recommendations for changes.

Demand #5 - Student Voice in Faculty Hiring and Firing

Demand remains the same. Dr. Hill informed the representatives of the procedures in employing and dismissing faculty. It was indicated that students can evaluate faculty, however, the administration cannot enter into an agreement with students regarding practices as this is covered in the Faculty Master Agreement which is negotiated by the Board of Trustees and OCCFA, the faculty union.

Demand #6 - Communication Between Administration and Students

The demand remains the same. Dr. Hill informed the representatives that the Public Relations office will be publishing items related to policies and regulations regarding students, and student organizations will receive copies of this information. Representatives of the Coalition suggested that 1) the Orchard Provost's "Rap Session" be held in the rathskeller; 2) Coalition members from each campus should be invited to attend meetings of the Trustees and Central Office administrators; and 3) an ombudsman should be established at Orchard. The Coalition indicated that this demand would have to operate on good faith.

In a phone call to the Board Chairman, President Hill commented that the series of meetings had resolved almost all the issues "not by giving in but by working it out together; they were not hostile at all, but were very conciliatory and cooperative." Compromises were reached by the re-emphasis put on the Student-Faculty Finance Committees and by establishing food service and bookstore committees with student members in an advisory role. A conundrum continued to be the "control" of monies, and without relenting, the students unified enough to present a "Tri-Campus Proposal" on April 6 asking that control be put in the hands of the duly-elected Student Governments and that fees generated at each campus remain there for student use. An all-College board would maintain articulation with the Finance Committees which would be expanded to include an all-College group as well. To save funds, they suggested that campus athletic teams be combined into single, all-College squads and this was eventually done. Rather than using student fees to pay the interest on bonds for union buildings, the Proposal gave some alternatives for raising money: grants from foundations, fund-raising events, and solicitations from private citizens. Although some concessions and compromises were made, the Orchard contingent pressed for more funds and additional control, without the support of their peers at Auburn and Highland who didn't want to endanger the new student centers planned for their campuses.

On May 14, the Orchard Coalition attended the Board meeting to protest approval of a $2.3 million project for centers at Auburn and Highland that would take a percent of fee monies from Orchard Ridge. With loud voices, the Coalition warned that the construction sites would be shut down: Mike Sutherland,* a member of the newspaper staff, told the Board defiantly: "If you don't think we have the power, just wait." When others in the Coalition referred to them as "Dr. Hill's lackeys," the Trustees abruptly adjourned the meeting and went home. Similar threats were directed at Deans responsible for the student activity programs. As defenders of unpopular College rules and policies, they caught the most flak, the highlight of which was a student attempt to get Dean Charles Yeramian fired. Reporting that activism "was alive and kicking" at OCC, the Detroit NEWS reported allegations against Yeramian with a front page headline. As my associate and a competent, fair administrator, I agreed with the assessment of Trustee David Hackett who said that Yeramian was a handy scapegoat that the militants were using to effect changes they desired. When a student delegation appeared to lodge complaints against Yeramian, the Trustees and his administrative colleagues listened politely, thanked the students for their comments, and then moved on to other business.

Mailmen were bringing the Board members and administrators written censure at the same time they were being denounced by

* The epitome of the community college protester, Sutherland would be jailed six months later by a Royal Oak judge for writing "Power to the People" on a billboard and for urging six youths, whom police were attempting to arrest, to run into a crowd.

student groups. Several examples show the range of community disgust with what was appearing in the local media about the College:

"Dismayed" As a taxpayer, resident and student, I am outraged at the weakness of the administration. If you don't have the courage to deny ridiculous demands, replace yourself in office with someone that does have courage....you are continuing to make it worse by allowing these Mau Mau tactics to prevail.

"20-Year taxpayer" In view of recent events at OCC it seems to us to us to be questionable if the citizens of the County should support the funding of the school by taxes.

"Thank you" We, the "Coalition of Sane Human Beings" salute your efforts and stand in these trying times. Remain firm. Mr. Hawakawa of San Francisco had the best solution to date. Use force!

"Be firm" Don't turn over to the students responsibilities that should be in adult hands.

"Allergic" We did not elect you with the expectation that you would negate your responsibilities when presented with "demands" from any group.

I am, as well as many voters, very allergic to two things, namely: 1) any group which makes demands upon legally-elected administrators (sic), and 2) any spineless administrators who find it possible to provide more and different services for any group that is dissenting.

Surprisingly, the Board correspondence file contained only six letters of the type quoted her crystallizing a problem for trustees and administrators during these turbulent times. Deans spent innumerable hours listening to demonstrators and dissident groups because representatives of the Silent Majority on campus seldom spoke out. Groups didn't immediately form to say we oppose the Coalition's demands nor was a politicized group of conservatives interested in taking a bullhorn to proclaim its opposition. For them life was simply too complicated and tiring to be further encumbered by social/political intricacies. Administrators were alone, too, because their faculty colleagues chose a similar position of non-involvement. Most went to their offices, closed the door, and after their 20-hour week on campus, went home and pulled the curtains. There was a general conclusion that nothing was really happening. This was the Dean's problem, not mine. Let him earn his big salary.

Like the passing of the Ides of March, Summer had a way of quieting the revolution on campus. Students went off to full-time jobs, the draft-dodgers didn't have to attend classes to be exempt, and some activists simply needed a respite from the encounter wars. Those who stayed for Summer school would tire of working on student-faculty-administrator committees, and soon realized that large organizations changed slowly, even when under pressure. In time, they learned that student-power was secondary to faculty-power do they would never have a voice in the hiring-firing process; in similar fashion, the College's central office would send bulletins informing students about proposed changes affecting them for a few months and then fall back into an insular mold reminiscent of pre-Coalition days. Like the winding down effect of the laws of entropy, the muffled struggle to control student monies would pause, but possibly to be rekindled at some later date. Flaring embers left by the Coalition would soon be fanned by the Association of Black Students into a conflagration.

7

Black Power Comes to the Suburbs

There can be no progress without struggle.
Frederick Douglass

With their morning coffee the residents of Farmington Township, a quiet, upper-middleclass, white suburb outside Detroit, were jolted awake by a March 15, 1971 headline reading "75 Student Rampage at OCC Site." Reading on, they discovered that a riot between black and white students, resulting in several hospitalized whites and property damage at the Orchard Ridge campus, had evolved from unfulfilled demands made by the Association of Black Students (ABS). Fourteen police departments had been put on alert and the South Oakland Mobile Tactical Unit was called in to aid local authorities. Henry Fry, ABS Vice-President, charged the police with harassment and commented: "I told the administration they'd better do something before we have a real bloodbath." In awe and some in shock, the neighbors of the College wondered why such chaos could develop in an area that had been a quiet, peaceful orchard 100 years before students arrived. Four years earlier, the Summer riots of Detroit had hardly disturbed their backyard picnics (those on the heights of Orchard Lake Road could view the smoke from the burning city 18 miles away), their tennis contests, and Little League games. Looking on the students next door with an attitude of benign toleration, it now became obvious that the natives were restless.

Answering the "why" of this violence would require an understanding of the black perspective on history, which almost no suburbanite possessed, and a recognition that black students had become politicized, along with their activist white peers, with a combination of Black Pride and Black Power. In the 60s this latter force joined the other pressures for change---anti-war, feminist, counterculture, and gay liberation---having been bred in the Martin Luther King womb of altruism and idealism, but over time, had become impatient and now demanded action. ABS represented militant

blacks who had a specific agenda for improvements; like Silent Majority, non-involved whites, most minority students shared no kinship with Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, or Huey Newton, and naming the basic tenets of the Black Panther philosophy was beyond their ken.* A dedicated ABS nucleus at Orchard, buoyed by a bevy of like minds at Auburn and Highland, spoke an impassioned message to suburbia and whatever audience was beyond the campus boundaries. Their office file showed a solid backing for the public outburst that developed in March, 1971. Association members knew tht ghetto children entered first grade brighter, more willing to learn, more receptive to adults, than when they graduated 12 years later, or dropped out along the way. The description of W.E.B. DuBois, written some 80 years earlier, was also in the ABS office file:

> The problem of education is still large and pressing; and yet considering their ignorance in the light of history and present experience, it must be acknowledged that there are other social problems connected with this people more pressing than education; that a fair degree of persistence in present methods will settle in time the question of ignorance, but other social questions are by no means near solution....
>
> The only difficulties in the matter of education are carelessness in school attendance and poverty which keeps colored children out of school.

As part of a new wave of black students in white colleges, the OCC minority had higher aspirations (in 1963 over half of the degrees granted by 85 Negro institutions were teaching degrees), and were now desired by white colleges (a College Board report in 1968 included an article entitled "Michigan State's Search for More Negro Students"). Near the top of the ABS file was a statement, by educator Robert Havighurst, that evidence indicated that culturally-deprived youth will perform better than their school grads and SAT scores would predict. This was borne out by researcher Thomas Plant's follow-up study of a number of Negro youth from low-income homes, who were admitted to rather selective colleges even though their test scores were below the usual admission level. (This Plant study was published in 1957). Members of the Association knew, too, that given the chance and adequate support systems, they could perform well in the halls of higher education. And, "chance" was one of the focuses of most blacks

concerned about upward-mobility opportunities. Of 4.8 million undergraduates in 1,400 colleges and universities surveyed in 1968, the Office of Civil Rights found only 245,000 Negroes. Of these, 150,000 were enrolled in black colleges, leaving only 95,000---or slightly under 2 percent---in all other institutions of higher education in the nation, at a time when blacks were 11 percent of the population.

Aware that some blacks (particularly athletes) were more valuable than others, the ABS was anxious to eliminate all vestiges of racism. As basketball great Bill Russell reflected on the early days of black athletes, he commented: "College coaches played one black at home, two on the road, and four when they were behind." In the battle against racism, a thick file was marked "BAM-Black Action Movement, University of Michigan" and contained several clippings on students' struggle for rights in Ann Arbor. In 1970, U of M officials had agreed to demands of the Black Action Movement to increase black enrollment from 3 percent to 10 percent by the mid-1970s.* BAM leaders reminded university administrators that it had taken over 100 years for a black (Dr. Alvin Loving) to be appointed to the U of M professoriate. Noting how the language of black identity had changed from "slaves" to "colored" to "Negro," a U of M vice-president wrote a memo to all departments regarding "Nomenclature Concerning Black Students" which read:

> Members of the Black Student Union and other organizations have requested that the University and all of its constituent elements consciously eliminate reference to "Negroes" in publications and discussions. The term "Black Students" is preferred and desired.
>
> This memorandum is written to indicate that we believe this request is totally reasonable and one which should be accepted and acted upon immediately. Accordingly, we ask that you convey this information to your associates and departmental chairmen indicating that all publications should be reviewed with this in mind and that future references to Black Students should be in those terms.

Like their confreres at U of M, the ABS was concerned about the lack of black faces on the Oakland faculty, in the administration, and on the Board of Trustees.** These expressions of concern would get the attention of the American Association of

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* U of M never achieved that goal. Black enrollment peaked at 7.2 percent in 1976 and dropped each year until 1983, when it was 4.9 percent. It gradually increased to 5.3 percent by 1988.

**Although the College District has a black population of 7 percent, only rarely have blacks run for position, and as of 1990 none had been elected to the Board of Trustees.

Community and Junior Colleges two years later with its pronouncement that "although 30 percent of the full-time students in community colleges are from minority groups, only 5 percent of their professors are black or brown." The Oakland ABS contingent was saying, in effect, that things were going to be different; more emphatically, "We understand that we're black, and as we go into these colleges---both black and white---we're not going to be made into little middle-class, black Sambos."

Most of the ABS members had been just entering high school when Detroit erupted and a burning "Twelfth Street" became the cover story of TIME on August 4, 1967. These blacks were now accused of attacking whites and setting fires on their suburban campus. What had happened? Had Oakland ignored its minority citizens since opening in 1965? Was the College a racist institution? What does the record show?

A minority staff member gave this assessment of the OCC environment and its two Presidents:

> The climate was not positive for blacks. Despite a large black population in Pontiac, few blacks attended OCC; nor were they recruited to any extent until the establishment of Project 100 which bused black students from Detroit to Orchard Ridge. These students were considered "special and different" and were not mainstreamed on campus.
>
> Despite the open door community college philosophy, OCC was perceived as the college alternative for kids from the richest county in Michigan who could not get into four-year schools. Thus, there was an elitism and classism that pervaded OCC students (and faculty) which precluded the development of a welcoming environment for minority students.
>
> The climate for black administrators was directly related to the personalities of the Presidents. Jack Tirrell was a progressive innovator who brought several outstanding black administrators to OCC. Joe Hill talked a progressive game but his actual behavior was oppressive and racist. Most of the black administrators left during his presidency, and an indication of their quality was that four of them subsequently became community college presidents. The loss was OCCs.

These personal judgments are not substantiated by civil rights cases against the College proving overt racism or misogyny, but it could be argued that there was no strong attempt to include blacks or women in key administrative posts. One exception was the appointment of Joyce Garrett as the College's first Director of

Personnel. She left after one year in the position to become a top official in the Mayor of Detroit's hierarchy.

Because of its location and white population (one solitary family had migrated to Farmington after the Civil War), Orchard Ridge was dependent on Detroit for its supply of minority applicants. The black population in the County was almost eight percent (8 %) but was located in Pontiac and Royal Oak Township, adjacent to Detroit. Since these areas were served by other OCC campuses, it was difficult for Orchard to be representative of the County minority percentages. There were also small pockets of Spanish and Native Americans but neither group had a history of political activism to this point in time. Getting a cosmopolitan student ratio at Orchard would take considerable effort and commitment.

In a speech to the Detroit Rotary Club in September, 1965, Dr. Tirrell elaborated on the "social dynamite building up in our large urban areas" and called for the creation of a community college in Wayne County. Attention was being given to minorities at his own institution: reporting on "Negro Student Status" in 1966, Mitch Tendler, Director of Public Relations, stated that Upward Bound students for Cranbrook Schools had a productive tour and that students interviewed at Auburn "had given a report of excellent service." Representatives of the Detroit Urban League interviewed Auburn's black students that Spring and found no complaints but three major concerns: adjusting to teaching methods, lack of information form high school counselors, and transportation to campus.

While signing the required civil rights compliance forms, Tirrell appeared busy with other things; staff minutes in June, 1967 state: "Dr. Tirrell stated that he did not wish to spend a lot of time and effort on this procedure, as in his opinion we are, in fact, an equal opportunity organization and should simply state that such is the case." One person who consistently battled for equal opportunity for blacks, other minorities, and women was Trustee David Hackett. His statement was adopted by the Board on September 22, 1967 following the Detroit riots:

> As a public institution of higher education, created by the citizenry of Oakland County, financially assisted by the county, state, and federal governments and responsible to the public at large, the Trustees of Oakland Community College declare that this institution finds intolerable and inimical to a democracy all behavior which would judge a person solely on his race, religion, national origin or ancestry rather than upon his unique, personal worth.
>
> The Trustees of OCC consider it a charge of the College

> to champion the right of equal opportunity and treatment of all persons in all areas vital to a healthy community including employment, housing, education and public accommodation.

Lofty statements like these prompted Tendler, three days later at the President's Staff meeting, to "launch into some very profound conclusions regarding the necessity of Detroit's leaders being living examples of the non-discriminatory creed they profess to adhere to, if a solution is to be found to the racial problems in the slum areas." He quoted Francis Keppel's 1966 remark that equality of educational opportunity throughout the country continues to be more a myth than a reality. At the time, Tendler may not have noticed the inconsistency in the May, 1967 photos of OCC Police Academy and Riot Control School's 112 graduates---not one minority person was included in the ceremonies. However, along with Tendler and Hackett, Dr. Donald Godbold appears to be a champion for black causes during this period. These three prodded others and helped to establish recruiting and special academic support programs for students from inner-city Pontiac and Detroit, as well as creating outreach programs located in ghetto areas (in Pontiac, the Hayes Jones Center and in Royal Oak Township, the Carver School). With the support of Walter Fightmaster's Community Services staff, and cooperation of a community Higher Education Opportunities Committee (HEOC), agreements were made for successful students to transfer on to Michigan State with additional assistance provided there.

Endorsements of these projects were by no means unanimous. At the President's Council meeting on November 28, 1967, Tirrell felt that the College should avoid the risk of being labeled "too aggressive" in attempting to recruit students by bringing them to Orchard from Detroit. Tendler pointed out that the plan would include Oakland County students also, and Vice-President Harlacher argued that the College ought to accept responsibility, along with Schoolcraft and Highland Park Community College, in accommodating Detroit students who did not have a local two-year institution. Dr. Tirrell was not averse to the idea as long as it was done on an invitational basis with the schools transporting their own students. Highland's SECOND FRONT newspaper (March 28, 1968) expressed support for College efforts because, as its headline noted "White Bigotry Promotes Black Violence in Cities."

In a similar vein campus concerns led to drives for contributions to the Poor People's March on Washington in the Summer of 1968, a free lecture series, "Crisis in Black and White," coordinated by Professor Richard Smith, and a program of part-time Summer jobs for inner-city kids to experience a college setting. The culmination of these activities was the dedication of the

Martin Luther King Library at Orchard in October. (On the previous April 8, the College had been closed by a curfew called by the Governor following King's assassination four days earlier).

At that month's Board meeting an invitation was extended for Mrs. King to be a future speaker at the College, and "it was suggested that members of the staff sit down with colored members of the staff to see what could be done for poor people---both colored and white." Other insights into Board and staff perspectives are noted in the Trustees' minutes:

> Trustee Lila Johnson inquired if our LRC had books on people like Martin Luther King and others of his race, and was assured by Mr. Hackett tht there are such books but more important, we should put aside our emotions and use intelligence. Dr. Tirrell stated that we have gone a long way by having colored faculty and administrators but we are not there yet.

Interest in the racial composition of the College prompted Vice-President Nikkel to report that of a staff of 488 (in July, 1968), 41 were minority (29 of which were custodians and clerks). To help this ratio, Dr. Godbold, Dean of Students, was named Acting Provost,and a former student, Fred Milton, was hired as a community counselor (with one newspaper headlining this action: "OCC Hires Negro to Help Image"). Other concerns were addressed by the Highland staff as reflected in the March 13, 1969 staff minutes:

> It is imperative we add courses in regard to the black man. Mr. Blatch stated that he was going to offer Afro-American History. Dr. Hergenroeder (Provost) requested that when Division Chairmen recruit teachers, look into the possibility of hiring Negroes. Dean Brodbeck stated the need for a Negro in the Financial Aid Department. Look over your curricula and see if appropriate units can be included.

College staff noticed that more students were becoming conscious of the wider world and that blacks were wondering why progress took so long. The 1967 riots had burned and killed but also generated attention; in an attempt to analyze causes, Professor Jude Cotter organized a series of community meetings on "Discrimination in an Age of Revolution." Oakland's blacks were aware of NEWSWEEK's cover story (June 30, 1969) on the national mood: young ghetto blacks were described as a "tough, new breed," and more receptive to violence as a tactic. Of greater interest, the following month's NEWSWEEK cover "Universities Under the Gun" showed black students with rifles and ammunition belts. Devoting an entire issue to "Black America, 1970," TIME countered with a cover picture of a less-militant Jesse Jackson. To obtain some disparate interpretations on the contemporary scene, Oakland's Speaker Series brought in Dick Gregory, Charles Evers (brother of murdered Medgar Evers of Mississippi), and author Louis Lomax. Although not invited to speak because he was awaiting extradition, militant leader Robert F. Williams was present at Oakland when his two sons, educated in Cuba and China where they went with their father in self-exile, were awarded scholarships. Former President of the Republic of New Africa, Williams had been chapter head of the NAACP in North Carolina, and when threatened by the Klan, organized a rifle club of 60 members for self-protection. To get free ammunition, he got the club chartered by the National Rifle Association. For several years Williams had shouted what was substantiated by the Kerner Commission: urban riots were caused by white racism and America was moving toward two separate societies, one white and privileged and the other black and disenfranchised.

By the late 1960s, individual campuses at OCC were becoming more polarized: Auburn's Martha Bass questioned why the Student Activities office failed to recognize National Black History week, and noted that her students "expressed shock at the staff of the college not knowing that a national week of this sort existed when it is so important to black people." The Auburn PERCEIVER ran a scowling column by Keno (a.k.a. student Kenny Walker) clarifying the distinctions between "Negroes" and "blacks." Its February 24, 1969 issue carried the State of the Campus address by the Student Senate President, Patrick Dewey, who criticized "lackadaisical administration" and stated that "racial unrest is one problem that can cause the entire upheaval of the college." A month later the predicted upheaval arose at Orchard when a 10-foot cross was burned on campus, and Officer Don Schott reported that pamphlets were distributed in the student parking lot saying "Beware, the KKK is watching." Violence on the streets came to the College indirectly the following December when Frank Henderson, a Vietnam veteran, finished his last exam at the OCC Carver Extension center, walked to his car and was shot to death, eight blocks from home. No

motive was discovered and no arrests were made. The Vietnam reference reminded ABS members of their increasing opposition to that involvement since blacks were dying there at a disproportionate rate. Soul brothers on campus were dismayed that too many of their kind were becoming "Seoul (Korea) brothers" on the way to the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Violence came directly to the Orchard campus on February 7, 1969, when drinking students argued over admission to a fraternity dance, and Michael Berger, another Vietnam veteran, was stabbed in the head with a screwdriver. Making the front pages of several suburban papers, the fracas heightened feelings dividing whites and blacks at OCC. When three blacks from Detroit were arrested and charged with assault and battery, the Orchard RECORDER pictured them on its cover in handcuffs and referred to the attackers as "scum" in an editorial. Hurrying to ward off barbs directed at his recruitment efforts, Dr. Don Godbold, in a memo to all staff, emphasized that the blacks involved were not part of the Higher Education Opportunities Committee (HEOC) program. He called on faculty to lend assistance "to help abate any impending reprisals or racial confrontations." A closer look at the RECORDER reveals an increasingly tense climate: the ABS column was entitled "Black Power on Campus," and the Greek scene column described the complaints of a black male, "Pedro," and an unnamed black female pertaining to fraternity-sorority discrimination. Part of the tension may have been fomented by the RECORDER which had denied the ABS permanent space in the student paper; a year earlier the editor had declared that "we feel that no one should have the right to have a column to expound his views solely on the basis of the color of his skin. If the black students on this campus feel that they are not getting a fair shake,and having equal opportunities, we would like to know."

The file on the stabbing is probably the thickest in existence in the Student Personnel area as typed testimony and witness documentation filled over 60 pages. What was not reported in the papers was a Michigan Civil Rights complaint filed by two of the accused. Duran Jones and Walter Wheeler, had been suspended and barred from returning to the campus. Following a conciliation conference on June 6, an agreement of "No Contest" was agreed to with the provision that it not be published

as a matter of public record. Jones and Wheeler had complained that the College had "rushed to judgment" regarding charges lodged against them when they had not been found guilty of any act. Allowing the two to apply for re-admission, the College expressed a willingness to assure equal educational opportunity by the following actions:

1. Engage in programs which are designed to enhance educational opportunities for minority students, and will continue to carry out these and other affirmative programs, including the recruitment of minority group faculty and administrators, to implement its policy of equal educational opportunity.

2. Will continue to present programs of in-service training to instructors and administrators in the area of race relations to bring greater awareness and understanding of students and their problems, and so that all College personnel can be instrumental in helping to establish and maintain good racial relationships and harmony among students on campus.

3. Will encourage and assist in the establishment of an effective human relations group which can establish communication links among campus organizations or groups of students, and work toward the resolution of problems and promotion of better understanding between black and white students.

4. Will carry out its administrative procedures in matters of student conduct and discipline in a manner which guarantees the full exercise of rights of due process and assures that decisions will be fair and objective in all matters under consideration.

5. Will establish a comprehensive procedure for dealing with legitimate student grievances which provides for full exercise of Constitutional rights to legitimate protest and redress of grievances, through processes of student participation, avenues of appeal and basic due process guarantees.

Most insiders agreed that College administrators had made little effort to emphasize the tenets of the civil rights movement up to this point in time. Had the provisions of this agreement been widely publicized and had the College been more aggressive in implementing the establishment of a more open climate, later turmoil possibly could have been avoided. More importantly, had the Deans of Students had access to the documents and this important information, they could have helped create viable programs of positive inter-group relations.

Confusion about Oakland's commitment to the Pontiac black community during 1970 also flamed feelings of discontent. On May 1, the PONTIAC PRESS ran a headline story, "Hill Denies OCC to Quit City," and quoted the President: "No, we are not considering moving (to Oak Park in the southeastern part of the County) at the present time." For over a year the Community Services staff had leased an abandoned parochial school, St. Frederick's, for downtown classroom space. Concerned about the rumored move, Pontiac Planning Council Director David Doherty said that the OCC staff expressed its dislike of being confronted recently by a "black group" which demanded that the College make its Pontiac campus courses "more relevant." Two weeks later, the Royal Oak DAILY TRIBUNE headlines announced "Cuts at Oakland CC Pontiac Center Hit" and explained that, yes, day-time operations in Pontiac would be shut down. Maintaining that enrollment would not pay costs, Dr. Nunney commented that vocational/technical classes would move to the Auburn campus. Community representatives complained that administrators had been unresponsive and this prompted a stern rebuke for College leaders from Trustee Earl Anderson:

> People are concerned about the St. Fred's facility. We've given something for a year and now we're taking it away. We ought to let people know what we're doing. We have an awful of of people mad at us.

While Pontiac residents were uncertain where they stood with the College, OCC administrators would experience no confusion in understanding the concerns of the Association of Black Students: on October 15, they came directly to the Board of Trustees in the form of Demands. Ironically, they were presented the same night that my appointment as Dean of Students at Orchard occurred, and at the same meeting where a host of Coalition members complained about the use of student activities funds. I missed the intensity of both events because President Hill discouraged administrators from attending Board confabs. Had I been on a campus instead of at Central Office the previous two years, I would have been more familiar with the ABS which had formed chapters throughout the College in 1968. Not militant at first, the group served an important social function for a visible minority alert to events affecting them. An early news release gave ABS positions and issued a cry for wider participation:

> The ABS: an organization of Black Students concerned with the position, wants, needs and demands of the Black Student body on campus.
>
> To many this would seem to be a far cry from the organization here at Oakland. Non-active students

> take on the attitude of "what ya'll ABS people go'na do, all ya'll do is have meetings, fuss, cuss, and fight." This is true when we take on a one-sided view of the functions of ABS.
>
> Black students must be open-minded when they see only a handful of students are working actively in the function of the organization, and that sometimes the handful make mistakes. This is because there are only a few students having input towards the organization.

Members of the ABS had appeared before the Board in November, 1970 to request a reconsideration of a tuition increase for students who lived outside the District (i.e., Detroit). Like many blacks from inner-city schools, ABS members were learning new ways and retaining some old habits. This latter tendency was decried by their faculty advisor, Professor Curtis Anderson, in a memo to the membership:

> As Black Students, you have an obligation not only to yourself but to black people as a whole. We need Black brains in order to survive in this racist society. If you spend your time card-playing, shooting pool or playing ping-pong rather than "taking care of business," you play into the hands of those who want you to be "good time Niggers." The library, for example, is notable for the absence of Black students. It is usually avoided like the plague by black students who'd rather have a good time.

Having been quiescent for years, ABS chose a new strategy garnered from watching the national news, maintaining a file on activism, and according to Vice-President Henry Fry, seeing what got the attention of white folks. "We saw a 1969 college poll indicating people's belief that if black demands aren't met, further riots would develop," explained Fry. "SDS was trying to destroy colleges and universities; all we wanted was for them to respect blacks and teach us what we wanted to know." Across the nation other blacks were demanding changes in institutions including:

* Black history and culture courses
* Black professors and administrators
* Separate black recreational facilities
* "Relevant" courses on social and economic questions
* Black representatives on student and faculty boards

On those matters affecting curriculum, when faculty retorted that courses must possess proper rigor, blacks argued that the theory and practice of ghetto organizing was as academically relevant as the theory and practice of coaching baseball.

Fry's conclusion that making demands and not asking politely, hat-in-hand, had efficacy and was substantiated by sociologist Robert O'Neill's research. He found that black militants dominated 59 percent of the 232 campuses that experienced protest in the first six months of 1969. Seventy-six percent of them involved no violence or property destruction. Separatist or segregationist demands appeared in only 13 percent of the protests. But these got the most attention and often the best results. According to the Urban Research Corporation of Chicago, black demands were twice as likely to be granted as other kinds of requests for change. And, as a rule, the more violent a protest, the more likely it was to succeed. So campus radicals were right to say that coercion was better than negotiation---up to a point. ABS had, indeed, learned well and was putting these lessons into practice. On March 20, 1969, ABS members read a RECORDER headline which breathed threats from the faculty union: "OCCFA Demands Issued." Even though there had been earlier ultimatums from some faculty and the Coalition students, it was the ABS demands that shocked the College.

Reactions to the demands ranged from anger to fear. Administrators who have a mania about always being in control of situations found themselves with no easy answers and the uncertainty of response. Anger dominated the initial reaction. These were not "suggestions." They smacked of commandments, and no college leader wanted to admit that part of their power had ebbed and now resided in a student domain. Fear was the other principal emotion fostered by dealing with the unknown: black students who exerted a new kind of ominous energy. Here was a force that got people's attention. It was a case of "Black is beautiful...and belligerent." In addition, these guys used impolite language sprinkled freely with the most descriptive adjectives ever heard publicly in Oakland County (as one administrator stated: "They called me 'Chuck," not even 'Mr. Charlie'").

After the demands were lodged, the ABS cause was received with diminished sympathy. Frustrated in their efforts to make real changes at the College, the ABS had become more militant and this stimulated a collegiate backlash. The more whites were moved by fear and anger, the more difficult they made it for blacks to accomplish anything, and the more militant the blacks became. It was a grim circle. The element of trust was noticeably absent

from almost all discussions, and effective College response was blunted by a lack of blacks in power positions. There was none on Oakland's Board, none in the administration (Dr. Godbold had left for a position in Colorado) except for Dr. George Mitchell, a campus dean, and few faculty members were sympathetic to the cause of minorities.* Upwardly-mobile blacks had little patience with vocal brothers and sisters (this new kind of student) who were causing them some embarrassment. I recalled being invited to a political fundraiser in the black community, attended by the power elite of Detroit. C. Franklin Frazier's "black bourgeoisie" was well intact three years after the 1967 riots and not a great deal had changed in the lives of the traditional underclass. As my wife and I milled around the cocktail circuit with black lawyers, senators, and corporation vice-presidents, I joked with the only other white couple in attendance that we were the "token honkies."

> Aren't you a little nervous (the wife asked) about being a "minority" down here?
>
> Not at all (I answered); this is the group the Black Panthers wants to eliminate, not us.

For blacks at OCC the cocktail parties and the days of silent acceptance were over as the specific ABS demands revealed:

1. We Demand: Review of all the textbooks which we find to be irrelevant to Black Students. Also, we demand that each department set up a committee to review the textbooks with a representative from the Association of Black Students.

2. We Demand: That the Catering Service Contract be reopened and reconstructed so that it makes it possible to use catering services in our community at Oakland as we see fit. Restriction to one catering is surely monopolistic and since the ABS at Oakland works in conjunction with the Black Community, as stated in our constitution, we feel that it does not benefit us.

3. We Demand: That the bookstore regulation of checking in your coats be removed along with the insinuation it implies.

4. We Demand: That upon the dismissal or transfer of any black

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* Because blacks were so sparse on Orchard's staff, I insisted, over much union and Personnel Office opposition, that my new secretary be a minority person and Berna Holmes, from Pontiac, was hired.

faculty or administration persons that they be replaced by black faculty or administrators. Also, we demand that black faculty at OCC be increased because of the increasing numbers of Black students.

5. We Demand: That the Administration publish a weekly or monthly bulletin separate from other publications informing students of all administrative regulations or any other proposed changes in the College that affect the students directly or indirectly.

6. We Demand: That a project similar to Project 50 be set up for inner-city students in Oakland County on a college-wide basis, under the Higher Education Opportunity Committee (HEOC).

7. We Demand: That the freeze on the Student Activities budget be lifted immediately.

8. We Demand: Immediate action to fulfill necessary qualifications for accreditation of OCC by the North Central Association.

9. We Demand: That more Extension courses along with Community Services be initiated at all of the extension schools in Pontiac and Royal Oak Township.

10. We Demand: That the 3-day absence regulation be lifted at Orchard Ridge.

11. We Demand: That the number of Black Students be increased at Oakland Community College.

Following a sullen reading of the demands, the ABS spokesman gave a deadline of October 23 for Board response and, without further comment, the group filed out en masse. A stunned President quickly explained that his staff would begin immediately to collect data so that the correct Board of Trustees response could be given.

At the Board Study Session on October 22, a crowd of professors, called by their union to rally as a show of force because a faculty strike was threatened for November 1, waited to be heard, but the Trustees wanted President Hill's progress report on the ABS demands. Minutes of the Session give this account:

> Last week at the regular meeting on October 15, a spokesman for the Association of Black Students presented a

list of their "demands." The staff presented a report that had been requested.

It was commented that this is the new approach that radical groups use. They used to attack the administrators and it was thought they might turn to the faculty, but actually they chose to attack Boards because that is where the power is.

The group that appeared before the Board represented only the Orchard organization---not the other campuses. Mr. Manilla (Provost) and the group have gotten together for a number of hours to gather information and will be meeting soon again with some of the black students; but the approach used in the report is based as much as possible on the whole student body. The approach was unfortunate because the students knew that some of these matters being part of their "demands" were already in the process of being changed.

Trustee Mosher said he was not interested in the deadline of tomorrow as dictated by the students and felt the Board should not even be discussing it tonight as a special thing. Provost Faye said the staff has just made the effort to get information to the Board. Dr. Hill said the Board was called together to hear about negotiations. Trustee Henderson said he would like to hear what the Provosts have come up with relative to the Black students.

A written report covering the 11 demands, information as to present status and proposed decisions in this regard was presented and discussed in detail. Board reaction was that when future meetings are held, any answers are given as administrative, omitting any comment as to whether the Board approved or not. Or you might, at least at the meeting tomorrow, provide no answers at all, telling them the whole thing is still under consideration and when the matter has been covered sufficiently, you will get back to them.

Discussion of the black students' "demands" was over at 9:35 P.M.

The non-conciliatory attitude of the Board was not shared by administrators who had to sit across the tables from angry ABS members in attempts to explain and compromise. In their own meetings, the Provosts and Deans tried to hammer out solutions in a systematic process of listing the problem, objectives of the

the College, the facts of the demand, alternatives available, and recommendations with short and long-range possibilities. The detail of several demands is presented here as a format depicting some problem-solving procedures. The College perspective on these reads as follows:

Association of Black Students "Demands"

Problems: (General)

The Association presented to the Board of Trustees on October 15, 1970 a list of "demands" for resolution by noon, October 23, 1970. Although the demands were presented by the ABS from Orchard, they did indicate that the demands were being submitted with the support of their counterparts on the other two campuses.

Objectives:

1. To encourage students to communicate their concerns through proper channels for consideration.
2. To stimulate open communication and dialogue with students and staff relative to problem areas.
3. To gather and evaluate facts relative to the concern.
4. To explore the alternatives for each of the problems.
5. To maintain a commitment of equity and fairness to all students.
6. To offer a solution to the problem(s).
7. To establish and maintain an on-going communication system with all students.

Facts: Demand #1 - Review of Textbooks

Course Offerings

1. Afro-American History - All campuses.
2. Afro-American Literature - All cmpuses.
3. Art Appreciation (Highland includes Unit on African Art and Culture). College owns 6 filmstrip/slide units on topic.
4. Music Appreciation (Highland offers History of 20th Century Jazz. In process: History of Jazz and Rock.

General information

1. Faculty controls the choice of materials within individual departments and courses.
2. Text is only one form of media.
3. Relevancy of the course itself.
4. Demands seem to be primarily unique to Orchard. Each campus has different circumstances.

Alternatives:

1. Form Student/Faculty Committee to evaluate all texts (include a Black representative).
2. Offer more Black Studies - content and courses.
3. Supplementary material for courses in question.
4. Obtain Afro-American Cultural Study units. Integrate these with other courses.

Recommendations: **Short Range**

Appropriate Department Heads and Administration on each campus meet with ABS representatives to review relevancy of texts and other materials.

Long Range

Integrate Afro-American Cultural study units with other courses.

Facts: Demand #3 - Bookstore Coat-checking Rule

1. Only Orchard requires checking of coats at entrance. All books and briefcases are checked.

2. Orchard's bookstore has discontinued this practice.

Facts: Demand #10 - Three Day Absence Regulation

1. Some faculty dismissed students without thorough exploration of absenteeism.

2. Some faculty penalize students academically who miss three consecutive classes.

3. Attendance is not uniformly required by faculty.

4. Regulation provides that students with three consecutive absences must be referred to the Counseling office.

Alternatives:

1. Eliminate three-day absence regulation.
2. Re-state the regulation to ensure understanding of procedural safeguards.
3. Open discussion of three-day absence regulation with students and the Academic Senate.

Recommendations:

Re-state regulation to ensure that arbitrary dismissals will not be possible and review revised regulations with the Academic Senate.

Facts: Demand #11 - Number of Black Students to be Increased

1. According to Tom McClung, Special Assistant for Community Colleges to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, it is the consensus of the State Board of Education and the Community College Advisory Board that recruitment be limited to the confines of the College District.

2. Number of Black Students at OCC:

   1969 - 651 (sample approximately 8,000)
   1970 - 845 (sample approximately 9,000)

   30 percent increase in number of Black Students.
   Only 14.5 percent increase in total College population.

3. In 1969, OCC ranked 3rd of 20 community colleges in Michigan in number of Blacks enrolled, and 7th among all institutions of higher education.

4. Nationally, there are only 6 percent Black enrollments in colleges and universities out of a potential college-age population of 12 percent.

5. In 1969-70, the College opened St. Fred's in Pontiac and then partially closed it in 1971.

6. Presently, OCC has 2,346 non-District students enrolled (of 15,146 total enrollment) or 15 percent; whereas in 1969 the College had 1,769 (of 13,223 total) or 13 percent.

Alternatives:

1. Continue current efforts to recruit Black students in Oakland County.

2. Open Extension center in Ferndale (Grant School) to serve black population in that area.

3. Cooperate with Wayne County (Detroit) school districts on College Night visitations, upon request.

Recommendations:

Continue current efforts to recruit Blacks and give visibility to past results. Locate Extension center in Ferndale, adjacent to Royal Oak Township.

Final Evaluation: A committee of students from the ABS and administration should be formed on each campus to evaluate the progress being made relative to each of the proposed solutions and to evaluate the effectiveness of the recommendations.

Over the next four months a number of ABS-administration meetings would be held to discuss progress on issues surrounding the demands. At these, black students would dispute some of the administrative positions relative to numbers, percentages, and the College's commitment to minority citizens. On January 13, 1971, Provost Manilla submitted a summary report to the President saying that "excellent progress" was made toward an amicable resolution but cautioned that this information be shared with the Board in a private meeting.

Some meeting dynamics that Manilla chose not to pass on to Hill involved lessons learned in negotiating with angry students. In these meetings, hostility was conveyed not only verbally but by body language and costume. ABS would not be "talked down to," never allowing administrators to stand when presenting information; also, student dress was "mock Black Panther" and a variety of hats were the center piece of the "in" costume. In my two years of contacts with Alvin Lewis, Student Government president and ABS leader, he never removed his hat, saying in effect, "Mr. Charlie, I'm at your level now." Loathing was the order of the day, and smiles and a sense of camaraderie with outsiders were unknown. One ABS leader adamantly refused to give me his name; a year later he appeared at my door to respond to the academic dismissal letter I'd sent and he was forced to give his name to the Appeals Committee. This kind of distrust and tension failed to engender a cooperative spirit in the round of talks.

Apparently satisfied with developments, no other formal Board contact occurred until January 21, 1971, when the ABS appeared on the agenda to complain about limited financial aid for the Winter semester. Their forceful tactics in dealing with the "establishment" had attracted the attention of the white Coalition, MOB, and the few SDS students who united in a statement of "Students Against Racism: which appeared on the bulletin boards of the three campuses. Expressing support for the ABS demands and admiration for its success in getting the Board's attention, the signers of the statement admitted that a broader coalition was not possible at the time:

> As white students, we have no right to ask for a coalition with black students at this time. A coalition cannot occur until Black Students recognize that we are sincere in our desires to fight racism.
>
> In the past, white students haven't been sincere in their relationships with black students and in their attempts to fight racism. As an example, one may recall two rallies held at OCC last Spring. Approximately 300 students turned out to express their grief over the murder of white students at Kent State. However, only 10 white students attended a similar rally for black students murdered at Jackson State. This type of reaction went beyond apathy. It is a racist reaction. Is it any wonder that ABS finds it difficult to trust white students who say they wish to help them?

Buoyed by this unexpected backing, an emboldened Association reissued its demands on March 8, believing that rapport with the administration was inadequate and actions on demands was insufficient. Setting a deadline of March 15, the militants gave their own college-wide interpretation of the items and added demands to the original 11. In giving their version of the 3-day absence rule, the Association used rationale from the Tirrell-audio-tutorial era:

> Previously, OCC was noted nationwide for its GAS and SAS system which gave each student an equal chance to ask questions and get exact answers in the small assembly sessions. The GAS and SAS system also provided each student with assignment layouts for the entire semester. In a case where a student could not make the class meeting because of transportation or other reasons, he could still keep up with the class in reading and written assignments. Because Black Students are primarily the ones with the transportation problems, the system worked well for blacks. Not to mention that the new E and F Buildings at Auburn were designed for GAS and SAS, and since this system is no longer in effect, thousands of taxpayers dollars have been wasted.

The additional ABS demands covered jobs, student offices, and prices of textbooks. They were expressed as follows:

Demand #12 - Black students should get jobs on campus instead of outsiders (high school students).

Demand #13 - The ABS offices at each campus should contain phones, supplies, and typewriters

Demand #14 - Regulation of the prices of all textbooks. Comparison figures provided by ABS showed lower book prices at Wayne State and neighboring Highland Park College.

The proverbial lull before the storm ended on the demands' deadline listed by ABS---March 15.

What was described by one newspaper as a "race riot" erupted at Orchard Ridge following an ABS walkout of a meeting called to discuss the demands. Claiming that the administrators were late in arriving, 80 blacks moved to the cafeteria where altercations ensued with white students. The results: ambulances coming to take eight of the injured to hospitals, broken windows, tables and chairs overturned, fires set in restrooms in trash receptacles, fire departments called, and the appearance of the County Tactical Mobile Unite with shotguns, flak jackets, and attack dogs. Over 120 Coalition adherents congregated in front of the administration building to yell at blacks and taunt the line of riot-helmeted police.*

The scene was reminiscent of Kent State and needed only one irrational act to cause another tragedy. This was avoided after much argument when Provost Manilla insisted that the police Unit leave the volatile situation. Next day, the PONTIAC PRESS headlined "8 Injured in OCC Student Unrest at Orchard Ridge, Auburn Hills," as roving bands of blacks in a dozen cars made the rounds

* Architects for the award-winning Orchard Campus had surrounded each building with thousands of decorative stones. Amazingly, at no time during this violence or the months of student demonstrations were these used as weapons. On that afternoon I did encounter a student I'd had in class 10 years earlier; he was hiding in a bed of stones and bushes as an undercover police agent.

of the other campuses. A follow-up story "Blacks Charge Police Abuse" quoted Henry Fry's claims that police had over-reacted, stopping every car containing blacks, and his belief that outsiders had caused the violence. In the midst of the melee I could not identify any of those who beat students in Orchard's cafeteria but did recognize jackets of a Black Panther group who had recently disturbed a Detroit School Board meeting. After being hit in the head with a flying tray and assaulted by two students, I ceased attempting to identify perpetrators and retreated to await police help. The campus riot had revealed that our emergency procedures manual was hardly complete. Communications between administrators ind different campus locations were haphazard, often resulting in garbled, confused messages.

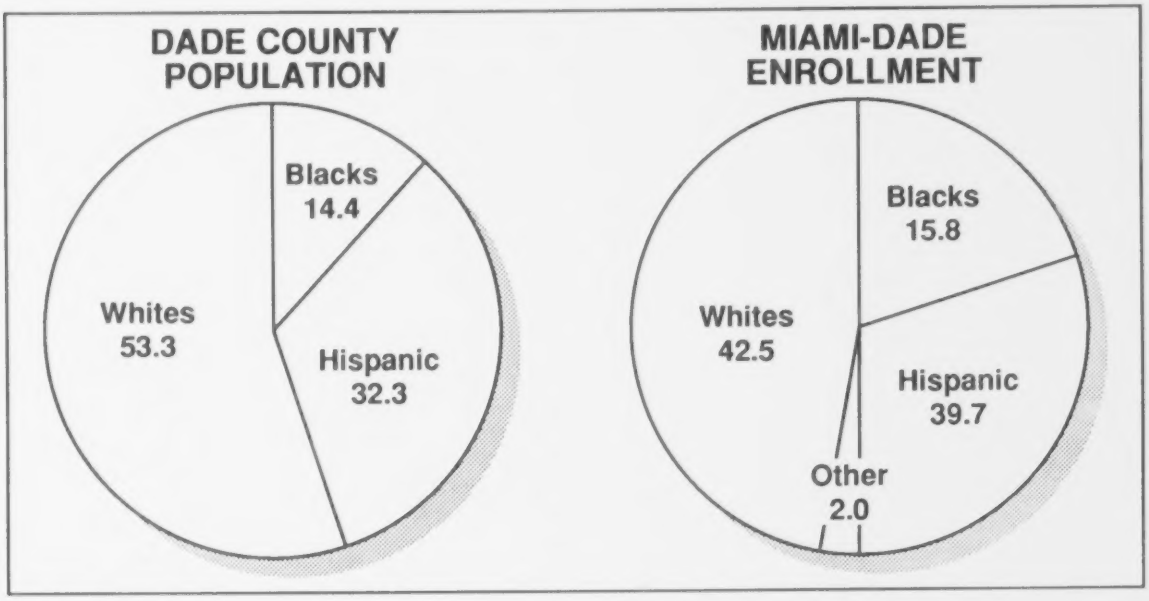
As to the earlier ABS charge, it was true that College administrators had been delayed getting to the meeting, a delay caused by conferences with North Central accreditation visitors. Following the racial outbreak it was feared that the NCA team would vote negatively on the much-desired accreditation, which ironically was one of the Association's demands. Two days later, I chaired a tense, five-hour meeting between the ABS and administrators from the three campuses. What couldn't be accomplished in five months of weekly meetings was all but settled at that gathering although it was interrupted briefly when 150 members of the Coalition staged a sit-in. They left when the ABS insisted that the demonstration would be harmful to the negotiations. Although the administration could not promise transportation improvements or the elimination of the attendance policies, the remaining 12 demands were resolved. Highland student Danny Rachel gave the ABS conclusion to the deliberations: "All this is on paper; it won't be meaningful until it's put into action."

Employing one of the best techniques for defusing complaints, the administrators put the protesters to work. They were invited to serve on bookstore and food service committees, study alternate curriculum materials for a black perspective and make recommendations to departments. They were also urged to get involved with the Academic Senate to bring curricular and rule recommendations, and seek out qualified blacks and give the names of prospective teachers to the faculty union. Further, they were challenged to convince the Student-Faculty Finance committees they needed more money, solicit community ideas on College involvement in off-campus locations, and work as student recruiters individually and in paid positions during the Summer. With these tasks underway, and the memory of bad publicity from the March 15 eruption in mind, ABS would become, over the next few months, a mere chimera of its original thrust.

Just how valid were the complaints of minorities at Oakland?

Like any suburban community college there was overt and latent white racism, much of it in carryover pockets by older employees. In February, 1971, a white coed was brought to my office by a Public Safety officer for driving on the sidewalk. She had been in a car with five black males and said the officer wanted to know why she was hanging around with "those bums." After I explained the traffic rules and took her I.D. card, she left. Turning to me on the way out, the officer said, "I don't care if she screws all five of them." On the day following the racial conflict a call to the switchboard threatened Klan retaliation if we "didn't keep those niggers south of Eight Mile Road (Detroit's border) and east of Telegraph." Since the KKK had a small following in the county just west of Orchard, we alerted the local police.

Most faculty and administrators were not as obvious in their behavior toward minorities, but there was little concern for a black perspective in academic courses offered other than in such obvious areas as anthropology and sociology. A rare exception was the work of Professor Curtis Anderson who developed the Afro-American History sequence and worked untiringly to recruit black students.* Programs to encourage minority enrollment were instituted but staff in them constantly struggled to find and maintain financial support. Along with blacks, other less vocal minorities were hardly represented on OCC's campuses, and there was no commitment to exceed minority percentages, which was the case at Miami-Dade College in Florida:



* In 1987, Anderson would lament the dying interest in black culture; his five classes in Afro-American History (185 students) in 1971 would plummet to one class (37 students).

Despite the reminders about equality of opportunity echoed by Trustee Hackett, Hill's administration made practically no effort to retain black faculty or to recruit replacements. Not only was there little concern that black students have racial role models, it should be noted that OCC's faculty and administrative salaries were among the highest in the country. And yet, during the Hill tenure, many blacks left the College, in essence becoming a vanishing breed since they were not replaced. Among those leaving from important positions were:

Dr. Donald Godbold*	Provost
Dr. Reginald Wilson	Director of Testing
Ralph Carter	Faculty
Louise Giles	Librarian
Dr. Walter Brown	Student Activities Director
Dr. Marjory Carter	Faculty
Dr. Thom Waters	Director
Tenicia Gregory	Faculty
Sarah Anderson	Counselor
Frederick Milton	Faculty
Martha Bass	Academic Coordinator
Ruth Watson	Financial Aids Officer
Alfonso Joshua	Paraprofessional
Waymon Tinsley	Counselor
Bessie Cobbins	Faculty
Gwendolyn Wade	Academic Coordinator

Many would argue that most of those who left went to better positions but gossip among blacks said that "they were forced out," or "they saw the writing on the wall." Although the Personnel Office maintained that the College was representative of its constituency in the County, an analysis of employee figures raise questions. In October, 1970, Oakland reported to the Civil Rights Commission 583 whites and 61 non-whites as its racial composition (in effect, representative of its citizenry). On the basis of these numbers, blacks would be over 10 percent (recalling that the County was about 8 percent minority), but when 13 "Non-Contract Personnel" (no fringe benefits; no guarantee of rehire) are removed, the percentage drops to eight. However, when the blacks in the custodial staff are subtracted, the percentage falls to half the latter number, and the paucity of minorities in the professional ranks of faculty and administration is profound. Like most college personnel offices, Oakland's never made a concerted

* The Oakland, California POST reported on November 26, 1986 that Godbold as Chancellor of the Peralta College District had been named one of the top chief executive officers in the U.S.

effort to recruit minority candidates for teaching positions. No visit were made to predominately black institutions and little mention was made of the attractive overload packages permitting salaries of full-time faculty to be competitive with those found at major universities. Personnel officers maintained that they could only discuss the official salary schedule since overload was not guaranteed despite statistics which showed by 1975 that 80 percent of the faculty at OCC were earning overload pay. Close investigation of extra monies earned by professors and counselors after initiation of the overload formula revealed increases occurred every year and by 1985, over 90 percent of the faculty was listed in the overload category. Rarely, if ever, were these figures shared with minority applicants.

Indeed, one could conclude that Oakland's record during this decade echoed a Nixonian position of benign neglect of a significant part of its citizenry. Minority applicants and staff came to discover that the College Personnel Office cared more about paper and procedures than it did about persons.

As blacks were singled out during the March 15 episode because police found them "visible," that treatment reinforced research showing patterns of selective enforcement although these accusations were later denied by Township authorities.* What was confirmed as part of the demands was the surveillance of black students in campus bookstores simply because they were visible. A white student, allied with John Sinclair's White Panther Party, was brought to my office for stealing rock music records from the bookstore. I asked his beliefs about theft and he answered: "The Establishment is ripping us off and all I'm doing is getting even." When I pointed out that all the bookstore does is raise prices to offset the thievery, and that his fellow students ended up paying for his dishonesty, he replied: "Oh, I never thought of that." He then proceeded to relate, as a Caucasian, how easy it was to steal: "All I do is wait in the hallway 'til a group of black students goes into the bookstore. I follow them in and, as the employees are tailing the blacks, I rip off anything I want."

Possibly not aware of its racist overtones, an "Urgent Bulletin" was posted around campus following the ABS demands to the Board. It listed demands by a group called "CRAP" (Cease Racism Against Poles) and its 14 items appealed for a Polish Studies program, free bus service to Hamtramck (a nearby Polish enclave),

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* Tension and stress are usually relative. While campus administrators were on the brink of exhaustion, others, obliquely involved, had not internalized the crisis. A former student, Dick Nimiesto, a Township detective, said he excitedly told his Chief of Police that there was a riot at OCC; the Chief paused and asked slowly, "Where are we going for coffee?"

the hiring of a Polish fencing coach, etc., but closed with a serious note: "Come off it, people---Let's work Together!"

Community responses were more vitriolic: neighbors called for police action on the campus and letter writers took up hateful pens:

"Disgruntled" - This business of increasing the number of students from Wayne County is for the birds. And, Dear Editor, what is this soul food that they insist be served in the cafeteria? They are bused free, their tuition is free, and their books are free. Are there not enough disadvantaged young people in Oakland County without busing them in from Detroit?

"Upset" - The 50 inner-city scholarships which you granted two years ago has served to a large degree to bring about your campus disorder.

P.S. I understand that Orchard provides a dining room for colored students only. Unless you provide one of equal size and furnishings for Whites, Reds, Orientals (three rooms in all), I must ask you to close the dining room no provided for Blacks only to avoid being charged with discriminatory practices.

Time eventually wore down the complainers, and since the Association of Black Students fell into a "busyness," non-demonstrative mode, quiet returned to OCC. Vestiges of racism cropped up occasionally: in November, 1972, the ABS requested that the flag be flown at half-mast in sympathy for black students who died at Southern University. News came to my office the next day that someone had sabotaged the lines so the flag couldn't be raised or lowered. I suspected Public Safety as the culprits.

During the next three years the Board of Trustees would hear annual reports from the Deans of Students detailing activities related to minority groups and listen to rare petitions from ABS members. These contacts ended in 1976 and black militancy went the way of the Vietnam protesters---the banners were furled because equality of opportunity had become passe.* Some blacks would even quietly become residents of Farmington Township, soon to become the exclusive suburb of Farmington Hills. Within time these blacks, too, would become socialized to the suburbs and, over morning coffee wonder who else was moving into "their" community.

* Issues raised by the ABS would continue at other venues and would continue to be unresolved: in Washington, Secretary of Education William Bennett reported in January, 1988 that "schools have let blacks down." In February, a publication of the American Council on Education headlined "Higher Ed Gets Low Grade in Minority Hiring," and at the University of Michigan the 1970 protests against racism were rekindled with calls for increasing black enrollment. Revealing that the problem was more than regional in nature, the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in June, 1988 ran a week-long series on "Racism on Campus, and the Baltimore-based National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence reported that incidents of on-campus "intergroup conflict" occurred at more than 175 colleges from 1985 to 1988.

8

White Bombs Meant for General Motors

> In the whole history of law and order, the longest step forward was taken by primitive man when, as if by common consent, the tribe sat down in a circle and allowed one man at a time to speak.
>
> Curtis Bok

A cold March wind swept between campus buildings as Orchard Professor Curtis Anderson gingerly made his way to an 8:00 A.M. class. Because of his lingering chest cold, the wind had a bone-chilling effect as a possible precursor to throat infection. Like all teachers and lecturers who depend on their speaking abilities for livelihood and survival, he hoped that he could fend off the voice-stealing potential of this Winter's chill. Unknown to Professor Anderson, this day would bring more serious consequences than anxiety over health. For on this day the campus would be bombed by revolutionaries who hated General Motors.

Beginning with considerable social experimentation and upheaval in 1960, the decade following 1965 saw the culmination of several radical efforts to bring about change of the status quo. At many universities demonstrations, often accompanied with violence, became the rule rather than the exception. Images of stoning the educational Establishment's barricades (occasionally by stoned students) were transmitted across millions of television screens. Moms and dads looked aghast, in wonder, and questioned how well their hard-earned middle and upper class money was being spent. TV monitors flashed free speech signs at Berkeley, armed black students at Columbia, and anti-war rallies at Michigan and Wisconsin.

As a professor of history, Anderson understood each of these dramatic events in an historical context. But now they were simply the meat of exhilarating lecture vignettes to be passed along to somnolent freshmen. Little did the professor know that on this day he would become part of history.

Later, unlocking his office door and appreciating the musty warmth of the surrounding library, cluttered with old newspapers, clipped, dog-eared magazines, he picked up a file of lecture notes.

With a wry grin, Anderson noted that the 1:00 P.M. discourse would center on the peccadilloes of the Warren Harding administration. It was a lecture that would not be delivered that day---March 20, 1971.

Anderson had taken a circuitous route in arriving at this day. Born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, his family had moved to Inkster, Michigan when he was 10. A fine athlete, he graduated from Inkster High where he was an All-State second baseman and was scouted by the Tigers, Pirates, and Cardinals. He believed that a teaching career would never have occurred if he hadn't hurt his throwing arm: "I could still hit, but in those days they didn't have designated hitters." Anderson graduated from Wayne State in 1962 and taught junior high school on Detroit's east side for three years which he said, "seemed like a lifetime." He then went to Central High where he taught until 1969. At that time another history teacher was leaving OCC to work on a doctorate, and Anderson got a call asking him to teach history "for a year."

When he came to Orchard, it was the era of the "baggie" (plastic-walled) classrooms because campus construction was not finished. "The noise level was unbelievable, and students could sit in one class and hear the lecture next door as well," he recalled. On this day the noise level on campus would definitely increase. Facing the March wind, notes clutched under one arm and a bag of books in the other, Anderson left C Building and walked briskly to the lecture rooms in J Building. He wondered why the March that had come in like a lamb was taking its venom out on him now, but that thought would be short-lived. At the end of this day, Anderson would be labeled a "kinky-headed radical" for a single, primary reason: Curtis Anderson was the faculty advisor of the Association of Black Students (ABS).

Able to talk at length about the foibles and intrigues of mankind's story, the OCC events of this March had added new human machinations to his notes: a week earlier those crazy, hippie whites had closed down the campus with their demands over Student Activities money, and just three days earlier some of the ABS members had been implicated in strife causing a state-of-siege atmosphere at the College. What more could go wrong, Anderson wondered.

Two tumultuous explosions ripped through the campus biology laboratory at 12:30 P.M.!

When the smoke had cleared and the debris had been sifted, no one, miraculously, had been injured. A student and a professor on hearing the hissing of pipe bomb fuses had rushed from the lab just ahead of the crashing of broken glass and flying equipment.

Professor Lee Murray said, "It sounded like a Fourth of July rocket; first a whistle, then a boom." Investigators from the Michigan State Police and the FBI would locate bomb fragments for evidence, but on that day no arrests were made.

A professor teaching in an adjacent room explained the incident as follows:

> The day the bombs went off I was teaching Cultural Anthropology in C-204. We heard a muffled explosion. Some students tried to leave. I knew that Biology labs were below us and I tried to convince them that nothing serious had happened. I walked to the window and tried to look down. I couldn't see anything, but as I walked back from the window, another bomb exploded. One of my older students grabbed her stuff and said, "I'm leaving." About then the alarm went off and we all left.

Because of event of the previous two weeks there were some ready suspects, members of the Orchard Coalition being among them. However, public opinion immediately pointed accusing fingers at the Association of Black Students and those sympathetic to their demands. This seemingly racist response was tempered on discovering that Professor Anderson's office was located upstairs from the biology lab. It was concluded that not even the most extreme blacks would endanger one of their own. A haze of shock and dismay replaced the bombs' smoke as the campus community raised unanswered queries: who would be desperate enough to try and kill innocent students, and how could bombs be secreted in a classroom with a visible police presence on campus?

As the investigation to identify the bombers began, I recalled events leading to this conundrum. My national survey on campus violence at two-year institutions found only seven cases of student demonstrations resulting in injuries, and a similar number of colleges had bomb explosions. Oakland's sole experience with an explosion developed at the Highland campus in January, 1968 when a tar can being used by contractors caused a conflagration with pungent smoke. However, threat of bombs was a different story as these became a pervasive tactic of protesters during the 60s and 70s. An incident report of Public Safety on February 9, 1970 gives a typical pattern:

> At approximately, 8:30 P.M., William Randall, custodian, answered the office telephone. The voice of a young, unidentified female responded: "There is a bomb in your building." Subject hung up immediately before Mr. Randall could respond.

Colleges, schools, and other public facilities became the targets as techniques aimed at disrupting normal operations became commonplace. On October 30, Provost Manilla sent a memo to all staff explaining procedures that would be followed: based on information given by the caller to the switchboard, local police were alerted, building were evacuated, and a search was conducted. Because the phone threats reached epidemic proportions when callers saw their impact, legal opinion was sought in December which confirmed the precautions being taken. In an effort to stay ahead of the callers, I chaired a Committee on Campus Disruptions which attempted to keep all parties informed. Our Orchard situation was complicated by several unusual factors: the same award-winning architects who had surrounded the entire campus with stones, designed identical building which they suggested, Army-fashion, be given letters (A,B,C,D) instead of names. There, when a bomb threat caller said, "The bomb will go off in a building," did he mean "any building" or "Building A?" In addition, the architects designed a maze of tunnels under the entire campus which required searches when calls came in. As protests and demonstrations increased in 1970 and 1971, bomb threats became almost daily occurrences so rather than cancelling classes, we quietly conducted searches, being conscious of student and staff safety, but not letting the outsiders control normal routine.

No telephone bomb threats came the day the bombs exploded at Oakland that March.

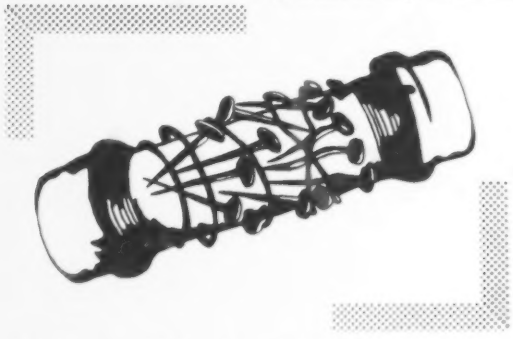
As crime lab experts searched for clues in the rubble of the C Building lab, news media flocked to Orchard. Other area colleges had experienced explosions in restrooms and parking lots but this was the first time a major campus building had been targeted. Devoting its entire front page to the story, the Farmington OBSERVER mentioned in an editorial that during the recent scuffles between the Coalition and the ABS there had been a reported threat to "blow the place up." The editorial writer worried that the bombing could produce a taxpayers' backlash: "Why should I spend my tax money to support outsiders going to the college, when all they do is bomb the place? Let's throw them out." Interviews with neighbors, appearing in the Southfield OBSERVER, found them aghast at the blast as well as angry. The paper interviewed a local businessman who responded with incendiary quotations:

> He cited Monday's disturbance in which some black students beat up whites on the campus grounds. He said one of the victims was a girl. He said, "That kind of thing makes people carry guns, and that means a higher murder rate. Like Detroit...it's an armed camp. It's a disgrace." King indicated he doesn't fear violence in his store: "I'm one of those armed camps."

Many people were outraged with the news that the pipe bombs were wrapped with eight-penny nails with the clear purpose of producing shrapnel to injure students. The "excess" that Arthur Schlesinger had warned about in 1969 appeared to have come to suburbia.

> Some of the young in their despair have come to feel that the answer to reason is unreason, the answer to violence, more violence; but these only hasten the plunge toward the abyss.

Township Police Chief Irving Yates reported having "some witnesses and some suspects" as the investigation continued: "I think it is linked to the demands of both the black and white students. We have some good information." A student came to my office to report that a black male had robbed him of $12 at a local gas station and that he had seen him on campus in C Building just before the explosion. He was unable to provide a good description, however. Another witness told police that he saw three blacks and two whites running from the bombed building, but authorities could not determine they were involved or were simply fleeing after the explosions. Coalition came in to announce their innocence and to condemn the violent act. Although sensitive to radical SDS and Weatherman objectives, they did not approve of Far Left theorists who argued that planting bombs, so long as no one is hurt, is an effective means of forcing the Establishment to consider seriously the need for rapid social change. Preferring rallies to bombs, the Coalition had closed down buildings with their sit-ins and had disrupted Board meetings by crowding the room with a claque, but hurting innocent people wasn't on their agenda. President Hill questioned alleged involvement of the ABS because of the organization's concern with accreditation: "It is difficult for me to understand why they would do anything to impair their chances of realizing that goal."



Authorities found that the homemade bombs were made of eight-inch steel pipe and were filled with gunpowder and nails. Bomb experts speculated that the fuses were lit by hand. Picturing a bomb on its March 22 front page, the RECORDER heralded "OCC is Bombed," having reported a bombing of the Senate Wing of the U.S. Capitol two weeks earlier. Highland's SECOND FRONT headlined "Conflict on Campus: with the notation that "rumor have spread that the student Coalition was responsible...the FBI continues to hound them." A follow-up issue of the RECORDER pictured two agents on

its front page with a tiny FBI story quoting one of the agents: "No comment is made regarding any investigation so no undue prejudice will hamper either it or possible future court dates."

For the accused bombers the court date came on May 4, and it did not involve members of the Coalition or the Association of Black Students, nor any other student of Oakland associated with either group.

Police arraigned a 21 year-old Livonia man and a 20 year-old Highland Park woman on information provided by the Detroit NEWS "Secret Witness" program. Two days later arrests were made of a 21 year-old Detroit male and a 16 year-old runaway girl from Ann Arbor. To the surprise of ABS critics, all of the accused were white. With these four incarcerated, police left open the possibility of further arrests but believed that the bombers had been captured. The "who" of the Orchard Ridge puzzle would not be unraveled as authorities also charged them with other violent acts:

- Explosions of a pipe bomb and a nail-filled device in two Wayne State restrooms in the University Center Building on March 23.

- A pipe bomb explosion in a women's restroom at the J.L. Hudson store at Oakland Mall in Troy on March 16.

- Two similar bomb explosions on March 5 in northwest Detroit mailboxes---one in front of a branch post office on Grand River Avenue and the other in front of a branch bank on Fenkell Avenue.

- An eight-stick dynamite bomb placed in a passenger terminal washroom at Detroit Metropolitan Airport on December 1 which failed to explode.

On March 21, the Detroit NEWS posted $10,000 in rewards for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons responsible for the two college bombings. Subpoenas for witnesses listed specific offenses: 1) conspiracy to place explosives with intent to destroy property and, 2) placing explosives with intent to destroy and causing damage to property. Following the arraignments, lawyers were secured, bail was set, and information on the accused was released. In order of severity of charge the accused bombers were:

Mark Peter Stevens - Considered to be the primary conspirator and with a police record, Stevens sported a scraggly beard and mustache, and with deep, non-focusing eyes appeared in the mold of a Charles Manson disciple. Described as an anarchist who "wanted to change some things," he was

described as an anarchist who "wanted to change some things," he was arrested as he arrived by motorcycle at a decaying frame house in a seedy part of Detroit where police found a 38 calibre pistol in his first-floor bedroom. Currently on probation for a 1968 possession and attempted sale of marijuana, Stevens was convicted a year later for using indecent language during a Schoolcraft College Board meeting. (A neighboring college, Schoolcraft is located eight miles from Orchard.) Shouting a vulgar epithet against the Vietnam war, Stevens had joined a group to support faculty peace efforts. Expelled because of this incident, his conviction was later overturned by a Wayne County Circuit Court claiming that his right to free speech had been violated. Stevens possessed a charismatic, domineering personality which attracted a circle of like-minded associates who fit the follower mold.

Eileen Margaret Orr - Implicated as a co-conspirator, Orr's defense was weakened when investigators seized a cache of 20 dynamite sticks, lead pipe, and a coil of fuse from the bedroom closet in the Garden City home of her parents. With long, disheveled hair and granny glasses, she didn't appear to be the "straight A, bright and friendly student" who neighbors remembered. Looking more the hippie type, Orr graduated from Dearborn Divine Child High and had a practical nursing degree from Ferris State College. In 1967 she became involved in anti-war activities and participated in numerous demonstrations and rallies. She was arrested in June, 1970 for being a disorderly person as part of an unruly crowd at Dodge park and later at the Oakland County Jail. Thus began a metamorphosis separating her from parents and friends, and joining her to an assortment of outcasts.

David Lloyd Dickason - Described as a "political revolutionary," and known on the streets as "Degas," Dickason had no previous contact with police other than minor traffic violations. After leaving Detroit schools early, he floated form one part-time job to another and spent time in various communes. Considered immature by his few friends, he was content to be a follower. In 1969 he spent six months in Pittsburgh before returning to Detroit where he became associated with the other defendants. Living in different communes, he donated time to an Open City free store which catered to street people in Detroit.

Mary Clare Johnson - Because of her juvenile status, the 16 year-old's name was not divulged to the press until May 10, five days after the initial arrests. At the time of capture, police didn't know that she was underage because of her mature, physical appearance. A ward of the Washtenaw County Probate Court, Johnson had run away from her mother's Ann Arbor home at age 12 and had been on the streets for almost four years. On one of her freedom jaunts she had met Orr and was recently living at her address with a boy friend. She worried that the Prosecutor would seek a waiver-of-jurisdiction and have her tried as an adult.

Although these were the accused, a fifth person, listed only as "Mary Doe" was being sought and would be added to the prosecution's case.

Because the Farmington Township judge was on vacation, the pretrial examination opened in the Southfield District Court. Although quite presentable for the court appearance, Stevens was described by his mother as "always looking like he should go to St. Vincent De Paul's (a Detroit clothing bank for the homeless) to be clothed. But, he's bright. He'd be a good attorney." Appearing in the hallway, brought from the County jail, Orr offered a one-fingered gesture of ill-will to photographers and entered the courtroom smoking a short cigar.

The presiding judge directed detectives to lead her back outside where the cigar was extinguished. With their clients facing a maximum 25 years in prison for the bombing charges, defense lawyers hustled to build a case. Capitalizing on the Orchard Ridge history of disturbances, they tried to establish a defense implicating the ABS and the Coalition as the real culprits. An immediate setback to this strategy occurred with testimony that all four defendants had lived in a Detroit commune at the same time they allegedly built and planted the pipe bombs. Living a nomadic life revolving around communes, they were in residence at a run-down building near Tiger Stadium which belonged to the Universal Life Church. The source of this revelation was the mysterious "Mary Doe." Defense lawyers demanded on May 12 to know the identity of this person who according to the arrest warrant:

> The four suspects did conspire, combine, confederate, and agree together and with one Mary Doe to commit the crime of placing explosives....

The attorneys' efforts produced slow results: the enigmatic witness was said to be in the courtroom on May 26 but was still not called to the stand. During this interlude, a curious combination of events transpired: Johnson, the 16 year-old, was found guilty of the conspiracy-to-bomb charge in Juvenile Court and was undergoing psychiatric testing. Rather than seeking trial as an adult, Assistant Prosecutor David Stoller explained:

> I sincerely don't think that society or the girl would be best served by trying her as an adult. She's better off in the juvenile facilities. She's young, looks 12 or 13, and is the product of a broken home, Her record is minimal and it appears that she played only a minor part in the occurrence.

Apparently, washed and cleaned up in confinement, Johnson's youthful countenance was finally revealed.

During a break in the examination of witnesses, other cases were heard in the Southfield courtroom, one involving a 25 year-old Detroiter, Linda Flowers, charged with larceny at the Northland Shopping Center. As she approached the bench she handed something to Orr that was intercepted by the court officer. It turned out to be two barbiturate pills, an illegal substance under Michigan law, that were being passed directly in front of a president judge. It was reported that Flowers had been paid $25 by the defendants' friends to deliver the pills. She now had a drug charge to accompany the theft accusations.

On May 29 the elusive "Mary Doe" appeared in the form of

Michele Ann Vallee, a 19 year-old former OCC student, who was called to the stand by the Defense to challenge her competency to testify. A resident of suburban Bingham Farms, Vallee was a former heroin addict who had been under psychiatric care at Mt. Sinai Hospital and Pontiac General Hospital since age 14. Questioning her credibility, the Defense got her to admit to use of hallucinogens, to hearing unseen voices, suffering bouts of depression, and being on probation for unarmed robbery. Frequently consulting her own attorney, Vallee pleaded the Fifth Amendment to many of the questions. Realizing that this witness could be easily discredited, the Defense now worried about the testimony of Johnson who had already plead guilty. And, to the chagrin of the other defendants, her account of the bombing sealed their legal doom. With relaxed precision, the juvenile recounted the events leading to the explosions at Orchard.

Two days before their trip to Farmington, Johnson was informed by Stevens that "they were going to make bombs and explode them in unspecified buildings." On Stevens' orders, Johnson went to a house in northwest Detroit the following day where she and Orr ground charcoal while Stevens prepared a mixture for the explosives. Dickason arrived later that evening and the four poured various mixtures on a plate and lit them to see which combinations would explode. With two pipe bombs constructed, the conspirators were driven on March 20, "laughing and singing," to Orchard by Vallee who was familiar with the campus. Secreting the bombs in their belts, under Winter coats, Johnson and Orr accompanied Vallee to a class while Stevens and Dickason looked for a place to plant the devices. Locating an empty laboratory room, Stevens met the girls after class, gave Orr and Johnson lighted cigarettes, and directed them to place the bombs on lab tables. While the three of them waited in the hallway, Orr and Johnson lit the fuses. With bombs hissing, they quickly retraced their steps, and hear the explosions as they left the building. Having enter the lab from an opposite door, the professor and student, on hearing the same hissing, had rushed back out as well. The court record gives this account of who was chiefly responsible for planning and executing the attack on the campus:

Johnson - We all walked over to the car. We laughed and congratulated each other and then we left.
Attorney - Is it true that all your actions were directed by Mark Stevens?
Johnson - Yes.
Attorney - Is it true that Eileen Orr and David Dickason never gave you any instructions?
Johnson - Yes.

Having pointed the finger of chief conspirator at Stevens, the prosecution felt it unnecessary to call Michele Vallee to the stand

not wishing to see the credibility issue raised again. Witnesses for the College said that had the bombers been more familiar with the campus and found the chemistry laboratory rather than the biology, the entire building would have blown up with certain loss of life.

With this body of incriminating evidence mounting, Judge Clarence Reid bound Stevens, Orr, and Dickason over for trial. They returned to court on June 10 to stand mute at the arraignment and pleas of innocent were entered. A trial date on the bombing charge was set for September but on July 27, the three pleaded guilty to reduced charges. In early August, the three heard their prison sentences:

Mark Stevens:	Guilty of conspiracy to place explosives with intent to destroy property. 10 to 25 years in Jackson State Prison.
Eileen Orr:	Guilty of aiding and abetting in placing explosives with intent to destroy property. 2 and a half to 15 years in Detroit House of Corrections.
David Dickason:	Guilty of aiding and abetting in placing explosives with intent to destroy property. 3 to 15 years in Jackson State Prison.

Mary Johnson, the juvenile, had turned state's evidence after being convicted in Juvenile Court and was sentenced to custody until her 19th birthday. However, on August 2, the habitual runaway ran away again; she escaped from the County Youth Home and was never captured.

Sentencing publicity also provided an opportunity for the bombers to explain the "why" of their terrorist actions. Though taking the Fifth Amendment when asked if he had participated in other bombings, Stevens went on to argue that such actions were to correct social injustices: "It was a social protest because any other form of protest is now totally impossible. I've seen groups trampled upon. The economic system doesn't adequately serve the needs of the people. I prefer a social democratic system. I am not motivated by passion or greed, but by conscience."

Oakland was selected as a target, according to Stevens, "to be supportive" of the student strikes and riots that were taking place over the war issues and alleged racially-discriminatory policies at the College. Dickason made no statement during the proceedings but his silence was capitalized on by Orr who got the biggest headline: "She Thought Bombs Would End the War." With an

enigmatic mixture of naivete and desperation she explained that the bombers' ultimate goal was to blow up the computer centers of General Motors and the Ford Motor Company. With a successful record of earlier explosions in public facilities, credibility could be built and the "war machine" could be halted. Orr gave this rationale:

> There are so many bomb threats these days that we felt people wouldn't have believed us when we telephoned ours. That's why we needed to build our credibility.
>
> It seemed like there wasn't any way to stop the war. After all the protests, and persons trying to do everything they could for peace, the government still wasn't paying any attention. There are so many cranks calling in bomb threats every day.
>
> Ours was not an anti-social act. We didn't want to kill anyone. If we had placed dynamite in the General Motors building , we might have killed 500 or 600 people. I can't see killing in the name of peace.

She expressed disappointment with the bombing plot but continued out of desperation: "I am really in despair about getting the war stopped through the democratic process." Asked by the sentencing judge what "war machines" General Motors made, Orr replied, "I don't know specifically." Her impassioned defense could not account for those innocents who could be injured or killed by flying nails or bomb fragments, nor were other revolutionaries sympathetic with her rationale. Michigan's most radical publication, THE FIFTH ESTATE, found fault with the bombers' convoluted reasoning:

> A number of things make their lack of political understanding quite clear. First, the bombs were anti-personnel bombs, laden with nails and placed in such a way that people as well as property, could have been injured. (This is so even though the bombers claimed to have taken strict precautions to prevent such injuries.) Secondly, one of the alleged bombers is said to have freely spread the word of his activities. Thirdly, the Oakland County Prosecutor is expected to get a lot of political mileage out of the arrests by "making examples" of the bombers and attempting to discredit their life styles.
>
> The equation thus formulated is that communes are inhabited by crazy, conspiratorial, subversive hippies who do nothing but produce anti-personnel weapons to be placed in public areas; and that black struggles must be repressed because

they are violent. The bombings clearly did not serve their revolutionary intent.

In a more reasoned analysis, a Detroit FREE PRESS editorial, "The Monolithic Machine," called for refining the system to make it more responsive to the people, while decrying the notion of justifying violent acts.

> The idea that passionate conviction gives one the right to choose whatever means one likes is an invidious notion. But if we can see what Miss Orr did, and tried to do, to society, we must worry too about what society did to her: What confusion it bred, what frustration, what alienation. We do not mean to suggest that society should wallow in some sense of guilt or that Eileen Orr ought to be let off the hook. Far from it; the idea that society's failures can excuse individual wrongdoing is obnoxious.

Without convincing anyone of the rightness of bombing, the "who," the "why," and the "how" had been told. What was the rest of the story. Mark Stevens subsequently asked the Michigan Court of Appeals for a new trial and the three-judge panel reversed his 10-25 year sentence, ruling that Judge Arthur Moore had promised Stevens a minimum five-year incarceration before he entered the guilty plea. Transferred to Marquette State Prison in the Upper Peninsula, he enrolled in the inmate study program offered by Northern Michigan University, and on May 28, 1974, the Livonia OBSERVER announced "Stevens Is 1st Inmate College Graduate." Maintaining an "A" average, he graduated with top honors, took the law school entrance exam and placed in the top two percent in the nation. A model prisoner, Stevens taught inside the walls, working in remedial reading, and helping inmates, lacking high school diplomas, prepare for the equivalency test (GED). Even though he passed the law school exam "with flying colors," he had no intention of going to law school because he "didn't think much of lawyers."

With accumulated "good time" Stevens served just over three years in prison for the bombing of the Orchard Ridge campus. In June, 1988, sources indicated that he was a successful practicing attorney in Marquette, Michigan, proving once again that mothers have an uncanny ability to predict their offspring's futures. And, most would agree that this post-sentencing record is a classic example of the system's willingness to rehabilitate when the guilty choose to be willing.

POSTSCRIPT: With a sense of vindication for the Association of Black Students, Professor Anderson could return to his quiet office and ponder the historic events of March, 1971. His lecture notes on bombs thrown at monarchs causing world wars would now be sprinkled with personal reminiscences of his own office, located above the biology lab, being jolted by gunpowder.

In like fashion, his next presentation to African-American history students would describe the unwarranted taunts thrown his way by racists because of his association with the ABS. And, whenever reverie permitted, Anderson could daydream about that phantom baseball career that would have taken him to hitters' parks across the country. "Things would have really been different," he thought with that wry grin, "if they'd only have had designated hitters years ago when I hurt my arm."

Profile: Seven Days in the Life of the Dean

March 15, 1971

10:00 A.M. A meeting had been called to discuss progress being made on resolving the Association of Black Students' demands. The J Building conference room was crowded and there was no place for the administrators to sit when they arrived. We stood patiently waiting for the Highland representative to make an appearance. A belligerent, sullen demeanor dominated the student population with an overlay of silence. I did notice that there were many blacks in the room and in the adjoining hallway that I didn't recognize.

10:15 A secretary brought in the message that Fred Milton, the Highland representative, was on his way.

10:18 Following a private caucus, an ABS spokesman stated that they couldn't wait any longer. With aggressive moving of tables and chairs, the group filed out and assembled in the student dining room upstairs for a closed meeting.

11:00 Two ABS members came into Dean Yeramian's office with a contract for us to sign stating that the College would meet all of the Demands. After explaining that we were not authorized to speak for all campuses, I refused to sign the document and the ABS insisted on immediate action.

11:15 After declaring that any agreement and compromise were dependent on the involvement of all campuses and the College's Community Services representatives, I asked for another joint meeting. They said a caucus would be necessary and they would less us know.

11:20 I went upstairs to the ABS meeting to see whether a get together could be scheduled but the doors were guarded and they wouldn't let me in. I waited outside.

11:30 Getting no response, I retreated to my office in M Building.

12:05 P.M. Dan Irwin, Campus Business Manager, came in to report a disturbance in the bookstore. We walked over together to J Building. He went into the building through one door and I took another entrance in case perpetrators were running out.

12:07 I neatly hung my coat and hat in the RECORDER office. There was considerable noise coming from the student Rathskeller dining room nearby. On leaving the newspaper office, I confronted two black males and three females carrying bags of materials which they dropped as I approached. When I asked what they were doing, they continued walking out of the building. I turned back toward the Rathskeller hearing someone yell that there was a fire in the women's bathroom. With the aid of three females I put out a fire in the wastebaskets.

12:15 Walking around the corner into the Rathskeller, I was quickly surrounded by a group of blacks who were all strangers to me. Several of them wore Black Panther attire complete with scowls and the omnipresent black berets. In the background shouts and table and chair noises got louder and louder. Food trays and other debris were scattered across the floor. I asked the students who had made the mess and got snarling replies. One black in a checkered sports coat was particularly vehement against "white administrators" and said: "Don't touch me." I assured him that wasn't my intention. I turned to pick up a tray from the floor and was struck in the back of the head and on a shoulder by two flying trays. Turning quickly, I encountered a sea of black, angry faces, none of whom I knew to be students. Realizing my precarious position, I asked students to clear the area and retreated to a phone to call Public Safety. I needed help.

12:20 Returning to the Rathskeller area I heard tables and chairs being thrown about on the other side of the large room. A plate glass window shattered from the impact of a flying wastebasket. The only black that I could identify in the melee was one from Auburn who wore a green fraternity jacket with gold leather sleeves. He quickly walked out the door as the Provost, Business Manager, and the other Dean finally arrived to assist me. We talked with a small group of blacks as the remaining students tried to put chairs and tables back in order. The Provost suggested that we tour the campus and try and restore calm. I returned to the RECORDER office which had been trashed by the students and found my hat and coat among the debris. Moving back into the hallway I confronted a student giving aid to another who was bleeding from a head wound. My first thought was "It's Tuesday and the College Nurse is at Auburn today." (At the time, the College employed only one nurse who made the rounds at all four campuses; she was scheduled at Orchard two days per week). At that moment, two counselors from M

Building came by and gave assistance to the injured student.

1:00 By now I heard that the County riot police were coming into J Building. We eventually got the building cleared and surveyed the damage which included broken windows and furniture. Although the day's classes or the campus officially closed, buildings and walkways were quickly deserted. It appeared that the student grapevine had spread the word about the disturbance. Walking back to my office I was surprised at how calm I had stayed amidst the chaos of the preceding hours. We had discovered that communication links between administrators did not work when challenged by social turmoil. We didn't know what was happening in other parts of the campus or what decisions were being made by whom.

March 17, 1971

9:00 A.M. The morning began with my secretary handing me a clipping from the paper with the headline "Dean Shot in N.Y.: Ex-Student Sought." I told her: "Keep the good news to yourself."

March 18, 1971

8:15 P.M. The Board of Trustees' meeting had not begun when I arrived, but the room was already packed with over 100 students and lots of people from the local media (Detroit News, Farmington Observer, Pontiac Press, and Royal Oak Tribune).
The Orchard Coalition was trying to get the Board to revise its decision on the Student Activities fund controversy which included a 43 percent cut to pay interest on bonds for new construction. After listening to the group's representatives for over two hours, the Board directed President Hill to meet with the ad hoc committee established by each campus. During the heated discussion, several references were made to Monday's violence relative to the Association of Black Students' demands by writers and the advisor of the Recorder. Not to be intimidated, and with two lawyers in its membership, the Board chairman reminded the audience that people who come to public meetings and make threats are subject to prosecution if further violence results.

Students were excused from the meeting and formal business went on until 11:45 P.M.

Campus Public Safety and a few plainclothes police were in attendance as well as a small contingent of

black students. Although the ABS issues had surfaced, this group chose to remain silent during these proceedings. (As a member of the audience I noted that Board meetings had, during this period,become the site of "happenings" as students turned out en masse to take advantage of a public forum with wide media coverage. These increasing numbers prompted the Board to request outside police aid from the County Sheriff and the City of Bloomfield Hills.)

March 19, 1971

11:30 A.M. That morning I left campus for a meeting at Central Office to discuss the Student Activity funds problem. Just as the meeting began, a secretary brought in a message that a bomb had exploded at Orchard so I ran to the phone to get details. After considerable delay I talked to the campus Business Manager who confirmed the report: two small explosions had occurred in a Biology laboratory in C Building and the cause was being investigated. I called again at 1:30 to discover that the campus was being closed because a phone call had announced other bombs were to be detonated. After extensive searches by College and local police agencies, nothing was found. I returned to Orchard for a meeting between the ad hoc Coalition members from each campus and other administrators.

By the time I arrived, the campus was crawling with local police, officials from the Michigan State Police crime lab, and FBI agents. A campus bombing was an unusual occurrence, and one exploding at a two-year college was even more rare.

March 22, 1971

In the midst of this turmoil, there were instances of comic relief. At the counselors' luncheon at Auburn Hills, the Vice-President went into great detail to explain the experimental instructional "Burst" system which was similar to the old audio-tutorial system of instruction. My comment: "After the week I've had with black-white student disruptions and two bomb explosions, when someone mentions 'burst,' I get very nervous."

On of the Deans commented about my bright clothing

at the luncheon (the day's costume included a stripped shirt, paisley tie, plaid bell-bottomed pants, boots, and a double-breasted jacket). My explanation: "As long as I'm a target, I'm going to look like a target."

Later that day in a meeting with the academic departments I said that as Dean of Students I used to explain at new student orientations that I was responsible for everything that went on outside of the classrooms. I concluded: "After last week's events, I don't use that line anymore."

March 23, 1971

8:40 A.M. The Provost's secretary brought me a phone message from an anonymous caller: "What happened Friday is nothing compared to what is going to happen today." We conducted a thorough search of the buildings without making a public announcement but found nothing. The night before two pipe bombs had exploded in bathrooms at Wayne State University and two smaller ones had been detonated at Mercy College of Detroit.

4:20 P.M. Another caller said that a bomb was located in the men's restroom. Search revealed nothing. We decided that when telephone bomb threats come, we will vacate buildings for a search and then reopen.

This week in the life of the Dean, certainly unusual compared to the norm for college administrators, contained a variety of emotions and feelings. Among those noted in this period of chaos were:

* Helplessness. Like a whale thrown up on the beach, I had watched groups of angry students turn over tables, throw food and trays, and I had no power to stop them except where my position as Dean was known to the rioters. Most disruptors didn't know who I was, and I certainly didn't have the power to stop a mob.

* Aloneness. Being surrounded by 80 or 90 angry students and outsiders with no Public Safety officers around gave real meaning to the concept of vulnerability. My only resort was to hide my fears and not be intimidated. I discovered that I could still talk a good game. Searching waste baskets and closets for elusive bombs gave one considerable pause.

* Uncertainty. Waiting for the unknown crisis to occur proved to be particularly stressful. After the bombs went off and following the encounter between County police and students, unusual

sounds around the campus now elicited anxious, tension-filled responses. It reached the point that ringing phones and secretaries bringing notes into meetings were times of dread.

* Frustration. One of the great fears of administrators is that of losing control of the situation and dealing with citizens who are responding to distorted information. Publicity about campus incidents was sometimes incomplete and often prompted citizens to call with complaints. Some calls were racist in nature and others were veiled threats from taxpayers demanding that the College crack down on troublemakers. In addition, there were fears of a white backlash from students and the surrounding community.

For most of the participants in the dramatic events of these seven days the memories would fade and eventually die away. For the Dean this week of March, 1971 would be permanently etched on the memory bank and rekindled by periodic unpleasant dreams.

9

Student Newspapers and Freedom of the Press

We ought to hear at least one little song every day, read a good poem, see a first-rate painting, and, if possible, speak a few sensible words. Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe

Among the many things that frustrate and make administrators and college trustees nervous are student newspapers. Typically seen as a somewhat necessary evil that comes with the territory of Student Activities, campus newspapers present administrators and trustees with ambivalent feelings. On the one hand, providing budding journalists with a laboratory experience is considered a necessary part of sophisticated college life but, on the distaff side, becoming the target of the slings and arrows of writers unhappy with some institutional policy causes presidents and boards to rethink the wisdom of funding activities programs.

Student papers do provide a vehicle for coalescing a diverse population and for informing a vast audience about campus events and policies. While college leaders appreciated the propagation of information they wanted students to have, they looked with displeasure on articles critical of their decisions and any publicity prompting negative response from the wider community outside the ivy walls. And, the most feared student publications was the radical, non-polite press that rose to prominence during the 60s and 70s. To the chagrin of college leaders, these papers went beyond the pale of good journalism, teetered on the brink of obscenity, and invited controversy by becoming as daring as student writers thought their elders would allow. Occasionally they went too far and some colleges decided to stop the presses and shut the papers down. Such actions immediately raised questions about freedom of the press as a Constitutional right and definitions of good taste and community standards, as well as the legal responsibility of governing boards in managing public funds.

In the early 1970s people at Oakland had an opportunity to digest all these questions because the College had a group of students who challenged the Board's patience with the learning experience before incurring the wrath of a majority of the trustees. Events at OCC provide the makings of a case study on student journalism and the dynamics of student-faculty-administrator-board interactions against a backdrop of changing social mores, including the proper use of four-letter words, how graphic should newspaper graphics be, and what community standards are used when judging a college newspaper.

Lessons From JOR 101: Elementary Journalism

With banner headlines in the Detroit NEWS the public debate over the campus controversy began on January 31, 1972: the Metro North edition blazoned "Oakland Student Paper on Probation" with a sub-title "Trustees Charge Publication With Poor Taste." Three months later the Farmington OBSERVER ran a follow-up story headlined "OCC Paper Publishing After 7-Day Suspension."

Getting to this point of having the College's dirty linen aired in public wa a culmination of six-and-a-half years of student publishing that apparently had been acceptable. At least it hadn't been newsworthy beyond the confines of the three Oakland campuses. But, since the first student papers appeared in 1965, there had been a hint of anti-establishment flavor in their pages. Recall that President Tirrell was featured on the front page of the first Auburn NIKE which contained a long student petition of grievances. Though piqued by the criticism of his innovations, the President was diplomatic in saying: "I'm pleased that students are concerned about things that have a bearing on their education." Recognizing that students of the mid-60s were staying the in the silent Eisenhower mold, Tirrell was content to give free rein to juvenile journalists who still respected their college mentors and had not picked up bloody pens at this point. By the end of the College's inaugural year, the NIKE was praising the administration for allowing expression free of any restraint. Carrying an editorial on "Freedom of the Press" on April 15, 1966, the editor defined the paper's mandate:

> On the contrary, the administration has consistently asked us to print what we think, no matter how harsh, no matter how critical....
>
> By encouraging the NIKE to function as a separate organization, free from any control, they had set the finest tradition possible, that of free and open expression of student opinion.*

There is no extant memo or proclamation detailing who gave the writers the power to function "free from any control," nor is there any indication that this philosophy of publication was ever discussed with the Board of Trustees. However, a review of campus papers, college files, and Board records reveals little controversy during the first two years as writers, photographers, and cartoonists turned their talents to the typical "Joe College" scene: Greek Week, sports, campus elections, social events, and

* To be filed under the heading "Changing Language," the Highland NEWS ran a headline at about the same time stating "College Offers AIDS to Deserving Students." It was an article about financial aids programs.

guest speakers. While timely and generally well-written, the content and treatment would be similar to that found on hundreds of campuses across America.

Beginning in 1967, the hiatus between campus somnolence and hyperactivity came to an end as things began to percolate on campuses. For Auburn and Highland students, the spark wa monies expended on the new Orchard Ridge location. In October, Joel Smith, editor of the Highland SECOND FRONT, appeared before the Board to explain an editorial lambasting the purchase of gas lamps at Orchard when there were "building needs at other campuses." Destined to be the Thomas Paines of the educational revolutions occurring at Oakland, the SECOND FRONT writers would take criticism seriously by questioning administrative decisions they considered hurtful to Highland students. The November 8 issue asked why student parking lots were not improved and why safety was ignored: "All we ask is a fair share of the tax money to do the comparatively little things necessary to get Highland Lakes moving forward." A follow-up issue blasted the College print shop for delays in course materials, and claimed that "many students have been seriously handicapped in their studies because of the Print Shop's tardiness." Believing that the President and Board were diverting funds to make the new Orchard campus the showplace of the audio-tutorial approach, student writers attacked wherever and whenever the opportunity arose. Dropping a lump of coal in the Board's stocking with its Christmas issue (December 13, 1967), the SECOND FRONT asked why $5,000 was used to save one tree at the new campus , and with apologies to poet Joyce Kilmer concluded:

> Poems are made by fools like me,
> But only OCC can save a tree.

Arguing that the expenditures could have been better used to buy equipment to alleviate shortages at other campuses, the editor used a cutline under the tree photo and asked, "Wouldn't you think a tree costing in excess of $5,000 would at least talk or bear fruit?" And, leaving some ideas for future budget planners to ponder, he concluded: "In the flickering shadows of a quarter million dollar expenditure on ornate gas lamps, the College must now worry whether the tree will live."*

Indications that this activist journalism was getting the President's attention was found in a December 21 memo Tirrell sent to all Provosts and Vice-Presidents. Entitled "Extra Curricular

* By August, 1989, the great tree of much controversy was still alive at Orchard...but just barely.

Activities," it proposed a possible way to deal with some of the critics:

> I am wondering what procedures we have for students to participate in "extra-curricular activities." From some of the discussion I have heard, we do exclude students from participation in athletics if they do not make reasonable academic progress.
>
> The question comes to mind, since some of our students are undoubtedly spending a great deal of time on such activities as student newspapers and have been on academic probation for two or three semesters, currently appearing to be making little or no progress.

At about the same time Tirrell noticed that other colleges were experiencing a brand of journalism unlike that known before. He received a letter from Wayne State's President explaining that legal actin was being taken against the student paper, the SOUTH END, and disavowing any official university affiliation with its renegade offspring, THE METRO. In addition, a copy of the FIFTH ESTATE newspaper found its way into the Board of Trustees'file on November 9 because it had been distributed free on all OCC campuses as part of a promotion. Someone on the Board staff had underlined in red all of the four-letter words and circled racy ads on the back page.

Without realizing its full implications, what boards and presidents were observing was the increasing radicalization of the student press. On many campuses underground newspapers and "Gonzo" journalism---shock sprinkled with unacceptable, descriptive adjectives---became the models to be emulated, and outrageous descriptions of the subject were more important than getting the facts straight. Contributing to non-mainstream examples was the appearance of ROLLING STONE in November, 1967, which featured a helmeted John Lennon on the cover with an introductory statement that the new publication would be "sort of a magazine and sort of a newspaper."

Alone with being more critical about everything, OCC newspapers soon sprouted writing designed to titillate and to shock sensibilities. Auburn's paper ran a column called the "Bitch Box" with the complaint that students had to "wait for an instructor to haul ass into class 15 minutes late." Its masthead soon declared "If you don't like our truth, make up your own," and its cartoonist began to test zones of acceptability: a picture of two fish copulating human-style was captioned, "Don't drink the water, fish screw in it." Not to be outdone, Highland's SECOND FRONT included

a pro-drug "Ask Dr. Dope," column, reviewed a book with the title MINDFUCKERS:A SOURCEBOOK ON ACID FASCISM, and discussed "steps toward legalizing grass." Conservative suburbanites may have gawked at these but were probably outraged by the ads for "Call Connie," who provided confidential pregnancy testing and consultations for abortions.

Because they were preoccupied with managing a burgeoning new college, the Board and President apparently did not notice the transformation that was taking place. As if in a fantasyland, they took the drapery off their couch and lay down to pleasant dreams. These dreams included student editors and writers who composed glowing accounts of their collegiate experience, gave full coverage to positive events, praised the deans for their good judgment, deemed the Trustees hardworking and sensitive to student concerns, and only rarely found fault with food in the cafeteria. Barbs were thrown lightly in these dreams, and marshmallows were the heaviest arsenal employed by students in this pleasant fantasy. Before long, however, the Board and administrators would be jolted awake by the nightmare conjured up by the students at the new, "privileged" Orchard Ridge campus.

From Cub Reported to Radical Writer

Looking like any other "proper" college paper in the country, the Orchard JOURNAL appeared on the first day of classes at the new $18.5 million mecca of innovation. Its format was dictated by the administration and could be properly referred to as a "house organ" tabloid since the Student Activities director served as advisor. By December 8, however, something different had arrived; the Orchard Ridge RECORDER was on the stands complete with a masthead of gas lights (replacing the slanting roof of the old JOURNAL) and with an explanation that the paper would attempt the following:

> Our duty is to inform, and at times to judge the actions of others. We will do so honestly, without conceit and without chains.

Somehow the Orchard students had picked up the freedom-from-constraint message of their peers at Auburn and immediately put it to use by featuring drug guru John Sinclair on their front page. It was an auspicious beginning for the new paper and even though the story didn't praise Sinclair, giving him primary attention suggested an editorial slant certainly different from that of the earlier "house organ." They apparently had paid attention to Highland's complaints as well; the second issue highlighted a cover story on millions-for-buildings-but-not-one-penny-for-a-flag with a photo os students assembled with their own flat "on top of Money Tree Hill." Such attention to campus details took an activist turn in March 1968, when the RECORDER organized a boycott of classes because students believed that a popular Public Safety officer had been fired unjustly. Leaders of the paper operated with an air of independence because the RECORDER's existence had been endorsed by both the Academic Senate and the campus administration by approving a charter and detailed operating statement with this membership:

BOARD IN CONTROL OF STUDENT PUBLICATIONS

Dean of Students	Four students
Chairman: English Department	(Appointed by the Campus
Group Coordinator: English	Student Government)

According to the charter, the Publications Board promulgated general policies for the student paper, a literary magazine, and other student publications that were funded by the campus. Special attention was given to the advisement role of members of the board:

A. Board actions shall be directed toward insuring complete editorial freedom and a maximum degree of autonomy for the staff of student publications, subject to the students' acceptance of a corresponding degree of responsibility.

B. The Board shall consider student staff members fully responsible for the editorial content of student publications, and it shall protect student staffs with vigor and its full, real and moral resources from any attempt to impose prior censorship.

C. The Board shall refrain from involvement in detailed operating procedures of student publications, except as such procedures may affect or be affected by general

> policies of the Board. Detailed operating procedures shall be established by student staffs and the appropriate faculty advisors, subject to review by the Board in terms of general policy only.

With intense opposition to "prior censorship" and the potential majority vote held by students, most positions of the Board could have been predicted. The student staff was encouraged to work within the framework of policies that spoke to a delicate balance between freedom and responsibility. Lurking in the wings for any publication was the possibility of legal action regarding items appearing in print, and the charter provided that the Pub Board, in its role as publisher, "accept sole responsibility, in any legal action arising as a result of material published in the RECORDER that does not depart substantially in style or in substance from policies of the staff and Board." Adhering to President Tirrell's suggestion that extracurricular activities have academic standards, RECORDER policies provided that only full-time students could be on the staff if they possessed a 2.0 (C) average. What Tirrell had not anticipated was a paper policy that permitted the writing of any student to appear at the discretion of the editor.

A key role would be played by the paper's faculty advisor who was appointed by the Pub Board to a non-paying position requiring numerous hours of activity each semester. For the first decade, the advisor was also responsible for teaching the Journalism Lab classes which provided the nucleus of staff writers. Though volunteering his time, it was widely believed that the advisor was using the paper to espouse his own political beliefs (opposition to Vietnam, and other State, national, and College issues), as well as having a controlling interest in the largest student organization with the biggest Student Activities budget at the College. While giving time to the RECORDER venture, the advisor refused to endorse recommendations that his activity be compensated because he feared that the power of the purse would put limitations on his freed to advise.

While withstanding newspaper criticism of College administrative and Trustees'decisions, what elicited attention like the proverbial red flag was the use of questionable language in student publications. Earlier indications of the changing nature of verbal expressions among young men and women have been noted; written examples became a different matter because once printed they achieved permanency, whereas objectionable sounds soon died away. This issue became so pronounced that the President's Staff minutes on February 19, 1969, reported a "discussion regarding the procedures to be implemented in the event of 'dirty words.'" Apparently precipitated by the Schoolcraft College case where the

governing board suspended a student for wearing a sweatshirt with an obscenity on the front and back, and "severely reprimanded" five faculty members who signed a petition containing an obscenity relating to the Vietnam war. Heavy news coverage of the event was shared with the Oakland Board of Trustees, and the President was directed to develop a procedure for handling similar student and faculty actions. On February 26, the Staff Minutes reported the following under a "Confidential" heading:

> A procedure was developed regarding the handling of breaches of professional ethics such as occurred at Schoolcraft College in regard to the public circulation of obscenities.
>
> A. Professional Personnel:
>
> 1. The Provost will inform the party concerned of his immediate suspension and will schedule a hearing for the following day with an ad hoc committee of staff, the union, and Senate members.
> 2. The committee will make its recommendation to the College President.
> 3. In the event of an appeal, the President will consider the appeal with the advice and counsel of the OCCFA President and the Vice-President of Instruction.
>
> B. Student:
>
> 1. In the event of a breach of student ethics, the Provost will immediately suspend the student pending procedures to be implemented by the Student Conduct Board.

Because of the secret nature of this procedure, there is no record of it being applied against staff or individual students. It is possible that College leaders chose not to publicize it so that those who liked to test limits would not be encouraged to do so. In time, though, the procedure would be applied by the Board of Trustees in response to citizen complaints about certain words used by campus newspapers. As time passed, the papers ceased walking the narrow line between propriety and controversy; overt attempts were made to see how far freedom of expression could be pushed. In January, 1969 the Auburn PERCEIVER began running a regular column dealing with the black perspective that contained statements of anger: "Damn white folks, black people have got to program, educate, and do things for themselves." In the same issue a student arrested in Ft. Lauderdale was quoted as saying "The cop identified himself as quickly I still suspected he might have been a faggot."

Leading the onslaught on testing the limits was the RECORDER which started using "Land of 10,000 Lights" as a heading for its staff directory. Intent on antagonizing College officials, the RECORDER staff incurred the wrath of its peers by describing

students involved in a stabbing incident as "scum" and by using racist descriptions in a story about sororities. Its lead headline on February 20, 1969 declared: "Students Protest, Burn Newspapers," and accompanied an account quoting the Association of Black Students president: "The total content of the newspaper in its last two publications have been one-sided, facetious attacks aimed at blacks and the so-called 'hippies.'" Apparently getting the message, an apology from the RECORDER staff appeared on the front page of that issue.

Thus began what would evolve as a three-year battle between RECORDER students and the College Trustees for control of the printed word at Orchard and the other campuses.* Of the innumerable encounters that would occur periodically until the end of this decade, the Board Study session minutes of May 14, 1970, capsulize the chief bones of contention:

> ORCHARD RIDGE RECORDER - Dr. Godbold asked to speak and give a little background about the student paper. When the campus opened, it started right out by having a paper. Interest waned and for some time one was not published. When Mr. Rancont joined the College he revived student interest in this endeavor and issues have been published regularly ever since.
>
> The Campus is proud of this paper which was established and is run by the students; the editorial policy is made by them and the faculty advisor is just that---an advisor and resource person. There is a board which has policy control and budget control and, by charter, it is charged with protection of the integrity of the paper. It is felt that this publication has shown continued improvement.
>
> Trustee Henderson asked if the paper was subsidized by student fees and the response was affirmative. The cost per year is about $20,000. Total activity fees are $101,000 and the allocation to the paper is $19,980. This is the most active group on the campus and its numbers about 50 students. This group has sent members to Washington for the protest marches both last year and this year, and is the only college paper that has been accredited by the White House and they did a fine job.
>
> The basis for all the above was a complaint by Trustee Collins about the column which is titled "Dr. Erotica" stating that

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* As a former English teacher and a person with deep religious beliefs, I found certain parts of the paper utterly appalling but supported the philosophy which permitted such swill to appear. There is probably no place in the world, except Hyde Park in London, like the open forum for debating ideas permitted by higher education. And, because Student Activities are opportunities for learning and growth, making mistakes is an inherent part of the process.

the words used were highly improper for a college paper. He said there are levels of normal decency beyond which you cannot go, and he recommended the board for the paper establish a policy forbidding this type of language. Mr. Rancont defended not the content but the right to print.

Trustee Preston said it would appear there is total freedom and license to print whatever the students choose since there is no control exerted. Mr. Rancont stated that there is responsibility but, when questioned, could not present anything specific. The issue of representing the total student body was raised and it was admitted that this group could not represent all students so it does not mean that all students want this type of article.

No faculty member---even the advisor---edits the paper for anything other than accuracy of facts and this is not done prior to printing. He does, however, try to guide them by pointing out their errors since this is a learning experience. It is much more difficult to define "taste" than accuracy.

Trustee Earl Anderson indicated that if more adults would work with students and take time to sit down and talk with them, this sort of thing might not happen or reach the point that this has.

Names of those who sit on the RECORDER Board of Control of Publications was requested.

Following the meeting, Dr. Godbold passed these words of concern on to the Publications Board and the writers, resulting in a more reasoned policy statement written by the new editor in September, 1970, asking his reporters to abide by the standards of good journalism and to strive for a quality paper. It stated:

> Journalism is one of the few "freedoms" remaining in the world and it is quite questionable whether that "freedom" is really a freedom. The RECORDER has in the past been accused of being irresponsible. The fact that there was little or no (staff) organization proves just that....

This was the kind of positive direction I tried to capitalize on when I became the Dean at Orchard in October, 1970, but I soon discovered that the three years of established practices were difficult to change. On the seven-person Pub Board, the Dean had only one vote, with a majority controlled by the students and an activist advisor lurking in the wings influencing students.

Because of a heritage of no review before publication, I spent much time trying to influence the editorial staff with rational approaches and numerous reminders about our conservative wider community. One of my first tasks was to reprimand the editor for the distribution of free cigarette papers commonly used for smoking marijuana with each issue of the RECORDER. This disciplinary action was precipitated in part by angry letters from parents stating that the College was a party in the "promulgation of a drug culture" because its masthead featured a marijuana leaf.* Explanations were given to President Hill, local politicians, and the Governor's office who all received copies of the complaining letters. No matter how logical and elaborate my explanations were, they fell on deaf ears of critics who did not accept the concept that student activities was a learning experience, and that freedom of the press meant no prior criticism and/or censorship.

As the RECORDER became more daring with its choice of adjectives and treatment of topics, the task of creating an environment of reason and common sense became almost impossible because of the changes occurring in the national, so-called professional, media. During this decade of loosening standards two areas that caused older people to be nervous were sex and four-letter words. In my first 12 months of guiding staff writers to a position of "good taste," with periodic reminders about journalism's code of ethics, I had to contend with counter examples easily found in the campus library:

- The Detroit FREE PRESS quoted U.S. Representative Shirley Chisolm exhorting blacks to vote: "They told me, 'we know you have the courage, the balls, the audacity to shake up the system.'"

- In a story on its second front page, the FREE PRESS recounted how Detroit Tiger players had voiced taboo words on live TV, using six different lines in place of the objectionable words and quoted one player who explained "it's the nature of man to curse."

- TIME magazine ran a full-page story on "The Naked and the Med" with one-third of the space devoted to photos of young, bare-breasted females.

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* In 1988, during the decade of AIDS, a condom would be distributed with each RECORDER and there would be no complaints because, in the words of the promotion, "AIDS is an equal opportunity disease."

An editorial decision to use "bad words" rather than substituting lines or dashes caused much RECORDER controversy. The FREE PRESS would continue the practice: a decade later one of its sportswriters would state that "the Boston Celtics' coach threatened to kick the m----------a-- of the Pistons'coach." No reader had to ask what the words were and no follow-up complaints were noted in letters to the editor.

- NEWSWEEK covered the 1972 Republican National Convention and chose to feature a shot of two frontal-view, nude female protesters. Readers had to search through four pages of narrative to find one solitary paragraph referring to the photo.

RECORDER staffers contended that these examples of gratuitous sex were no more justified than some of the references used in the Dr. Erotica sex-advice column, and as to four-letter words, they challenged the hypocrisy of substituting dots, dashes, or lines for obscenities when everyone knew what the omitted words were anyway. Earlier reference has been made to the looser public vocabulary exhibited by the young on campuses and in the wider population. The Oakland scribes maintained that they were simply putting on paper what was generally accepted in the public domain of colorful speech.

While not winning the philosophical debate, administrators were paying attention to the court battles surrounding campus papers and definitions of free expression. They had witnessed at their own campuses students wearing American flags on the seats of jeans and displaying rejection of national values by refusing to stand when the "Star-Spangled Banner" was played.* These were minor, non-verbal statements compared to those occurring at other institutions of learning resulting in significant court cases to which Oakland's leaders filed for reference:

- DICKEY v. ALABAMA BOARD OF EDUCATION in 1967 became a landmark case. The court prohibited administrative censorship of a student newspaper. It ruled that the president of Troy State College could not expel a student editor for criticizing the Alabama state government.

- ANTONELLI v. HAMMOND in 1970, dealt with the amount of control a college administrator may exert over a student newspaper. A Massachusetts court ruled against Fitchburg State College's attempt to prevent the student paper's publication of a controversial article by Eldridge Cleaver. The court said that the administration of a state college could not censor or prevent publication of an objectionable issue. Such censorship constitutes state interference with freedom of the press, the court said.

- In October, 1970, the Seventh U.S. Court of Appeals held that Joliet, Illinois had no right to expel two students

** Neil Postman in THE SOFT REVOLUTION proposed a simple solution to the flag controversy: "If you must desecrate a flag, use the flag of New York City even if you don't live there. No one will mind."

for distributing an inflammatory pamphlet as long as it did not disrupt school activities. The court refused to hear the state's appeal.

- Sale of an issue of a student publication at Texas Tech was prohibited on the ground that it lacked literary value and that it made use of "lewd, indecent" language.

  In THE CHANNING CLUB v. BOARD OF REGENTS OF TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY (1970) the Federal court held that prohibition of the newspaper constituted unconstitutional discrimination and a denial of equal protection of the law.

  The court found that the University had not proved disruption, hostility, or infringement of the rights of other students. Plaintiffs showed that newsstands sold publications containing similar language and that publications available in the library were in the same category.

- In 1971 the court ruled in favor of a man convicted of disturbing the peace by "offensive conduct" for wearing in a courthouse a jacket emblazoned "Fuck the Draft." The court said, in effect, "one man's vulgarity is another man's lyric."*

Administrators paid attention also because they were reluctant to spend legal fees on cases that were likely to be lost in litigation. But, because several campus papers were flirting with a new interpretation of "community standards," administrators reviewed the court's definition of obscenity and found that three elements must coalesce for a writing to be judged obscene:

A. The dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to a prurient interest in sex.
B. The material is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards relating to the description or representation of sexual matters, and
C. The material is utterly without redeeming social value.

This definition usually served as a basis for local ordinances prohibiting obscenity, but city fathers, like their counterparts on campus, were reluctant to take action on questionable displays that could be described as "artistic" but not obscene. It was

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* The vulgar Detroit Tigers were in the news again in 1987 when NEWSWEEK's George Will chose to describe beer-guzzling Tiger bleacher bums who popularized a beer commercial chant with "Fuck you! Eat Shit!" resulting in an ACLU free speech battle when the baseball management posted signs outlawing obscene chanting. Thirty miles west in Ann Arbor, Will could witness similar displays at University of Michigan football games: when officials made a bad call against the home team, 10,000 fans yell "Bull" and another 10,000 echo "Shit" in what has become a tradition at the intellectual Harvard of the Midwest.

only when there was a concerted, organized citizen outcry did authorities respond with threats of action or alter the status quo by actually instituting a case against the offender.

Following Dr. Godbold's defense of the RECORDER in May, 1970, it appears that the newspaper staff organized a secret agenda to use the Erotica column as a test case to challenge the sensibilities of the Trustees. Rather than attacking the Board's patience with marshmallows, the RECORDER mounted bazooka assaults by making the topic and language in the column as racy and descriptive as possible. Over a three-year period, this part of the RECORDER had begun as a legitimate medical question-and-answer section of the paper titled "The Doctor's Bag." It was replaced by the heading "Erotica" and, to give it a semblance of the scientific, finally as "Dr. Erotica." Obviously designed to titillate and to arouse a readership, the column covered every imaginable subject on sexuality and gave answers that were somewhat accurate and at other times misleading. A few of the less-pornographic read as follows:

Dear Erotica,
What's the best position after the 8th month of pregnancy?

>>> Dear Fat,
The best position after the 8th month of pregnancy is: holding hands.

Dear Erotica,
I've heard that VD can cause sterility. If this true, how does it cause sterility?

>>> Dear John,
VD, especially gonorrhea can cause scar tissues that will is block the passages of both eggs and sperm causing sterility. By the end of the day, 1,500 of our Brothers and Sisters will have acquired VD. And what did you get for Christmas?

Dr. Erotica,
Is there any kind of sexual activity that can cause damage?

>>> Dear Kim,
Heavy sadism, child abuse, rape, continuous oral intercourse, and the use of gasoline driven vibrators, among others.

Dear Erotica,
Do uncircumcised men receive more pleasure from sexual intercourse or what?

>>> Dear Tom,
To a small degree, uncircumcized men are generally more sensitive to sexual stimuli than are circumcized men. This stems from the fact that the circumsized man's organ is always in constant contact with clothing

rather than the God-given foreskin. This material, because of its unnatural roughness tends to desensitize males, thus giving the circumcised the upper hand in the establishment of social sexual maturity.

Dear Doc,
You know I've heard a lot about masturbation being bad for you. Now I want to know the truth.

>>> Dear Tom,
Masturbation does not lead to insanity nor does it harm for your sexual organ. In fact, the lack of masturbation has caused schizophrenia in males. Lack of masturbation may also cause the male to get the orgasm off too fast during sexual intercourse. For females, masturbation increases one's sexual responsiveness, i.e., cuts down on the possibility of being frigid.

Each time "Dr. Erotica" appeared parents and community people would respond with phone calls demanding that something be done to clean up the RECORDER. One example read: "This paper needs a garbage-overhauling. Please do something about it. (signed) An Interested Taxpayer." Each time I would convene the Publications Board go to give my expected comments "poor taste" journalism, I would be answered by a 1-6 vote against censuring the editor. Student staff and the editor would claim that "Dr. Erotica" touched on subjects similar to those found in advice columns in the Detroit dailies written by sexologists with medical credentials but simply used "street language" that students identified with. I continued to warn the staff about their responsibility to others who controlled the newspaper's budget. While prior censorship would not occur, pulling out the financial rug was a real possibility. By January, 1972, the opposing parties were at the Rubicon: one side were students screaming "freedom of the press" and on the other the College Trustees were calling the RECORDER a "pornographic sleaze bag."

After months of jousting with definitions of censorship, freedom of the press, good taste, and community standards, the battle finally came to a head with the January 13 issue which featured a long-haired hippie sitting, pants down, on the toilet, copying graffiti from the stall walls. The collected writings appeared on a page with "Dr. Erotica," was labeled "This Page Rated X," and included some graphic and descriptive graffiti:

> Flush twice; it's a long way to the coffee pots.
>
> Cum together.
>
> Eat shit: 3,000,000 flies can't be wrong.
>
> The only dope worth shooting is Nixon.
>
> This place is like a sore cock: you can't beat it.
>
> Nixon's not the only President to have an asshole for V.P. Eisenhower had one too!
>
> Why change dicks in the middle of a screw,
> Vote for Nixon in '72.

That afternoon I protested the shock effect techniques in a memo to the RECORDER editor, and called an emergency meeting of the Pub Board. The Provost wrote to the College attorney asking for legal opinions on what could be done to control "lewd and indecent language" considering recent court cases., and established an ad hoc student-faculty committee to review the situation. Upon meeting with this group I failed to achieve support for bringing outside pressure to bear. Although expressing concern for the campus' image and some language used, the committee would not condemn the paper's actions. It appeared that the administration was destined to fight this battle alone. However, some pressure did appear from selected individuals; Richard Smith, sociology department chairman and OCCFA campus head wrote:

> Dear Editor,
> Your recent edition featuring the men's lavatories stooped to a near all-time low in campus journalism. With critical national, state, and local issues demanding serious coverage and in-depth analysis there can be no excuse for wasting resources on toilet-paper journalism.
> A student newspaper should perhaps interpret off-campus news to students, in addition to performing its function as the "watch-dog" for student interests on campus. Therefore, it borders on total irresponsibility to blatantly disregard

> legitimate student interests in favor of indulging the peculiar fascination of some RECORDER staff members with the ongoing events occurring in the men's room.
>
> Hoping for a return to the RECORDER's former quality and representing only myself. Sincerely.

Faculty and student opinion aside, the Trustees, whose patience had worn thin, decided to launch their own attack at the January 20 Board meeting. Trustee George Mosher refused to accept an editor;s defense of the toilet-stall issue as being "a serious sociological study of graffiti writers," and submitted a resolution designed to halt further publication of the paper. Its strong language read:

> Whereas the persons responsible for the Orchard Ridge RECORDER have been continuously publishing materials which the Trustees believe to be obscene, particularly as illustrated by the issue dated January 13, 1972; and have distributed such materials to students and the general public, some of whom are minors; and
>
> Whereas, the Board believes that it has the responsibility to prevent the use of College facilities and student activities funds to support the publication and distribution of such materials. It is hereby resolved that effectively and until rescinded by the Board that:
>
> 1. Further publication or distribution of the RECORDER is prohibited.
> 2. The use of all College funds and facilities including office space and student activities fees in support of the RECORDER is prohibited.
> 3. The College administration is to make an investigation to determine whether the persons responsible for the publication and distribution of the alleged obscene materials should be suspended or dismissed from the College, or otherwise disciplined.
> 4. Copies of the alleged obscene materials are to be promptly submitted to the U.S. Postal authorities and the Oakland County Prosecuting Attorney for such action as they find to be appropriate.
>
> It is further resolved that the Board will permit reinstatement of the RECORDER when it has assured itself that reinstatement is appropriate.

With these formal statements of censure Mosher was saying emphatically that the RECORDER's scatological history had placed it firmly on the brink of extinction. Following heated debates with the assembled students, faculty, and administrators in the

Board room, the Trustees voted 4-3 against Mosher's proposal, but they did put the paper on a three-month probation to see if improvements could be made.

The January 26 issue featured John Sinclair again on the front page with a lead story stating "Board Meets: Recorder Survives Censorship," but an analysis of the content showed that little had been learned. Two full pages were devoted to Sinclair's pro-marijuana psychedelic politics, an equal amount of space to a discussion of obscenity and freedom of expression (complete with a banner reading "Love is a four-letter word"), and a note that Dr. Erotica's column would not appear because the famous physician was attending "the International Conference on Sexologists in Copenhagen." A full page of letters to the editor revealed some support and some denunciation for the paper with offensive words included in one:

> Keep fucking with the administration and all the other pigs on campus. If not for the sake of all, then for the sake of peace of mind and for the sake of freedom. Get them before they fuck with us anymore.

And, at last, the identity of the hippie, graffiti-writer was revealed in a new question-and-answer column entitled "Charlie Brown" with this descriptive format:

> Q. You're a great columnist, you have witty humor, but that picture of you taking a shit was not only gross but obscene, bogue, fucked, chauvinistic, asanine, and plain-out nasty. (signed)
> A secret admirer
>
> A. I'm sure it's nothing anyone hasn't seen before; a pair of pants, someone's legs, among other things a stall in a john. I really don't see why other people are uptight about it, like it could have been a hell of a lot worse (if you look at it negatively), I could have easily stood up.

Although the conditions of the RECORDER probation were not described immediately, it was generally agreed that the sex questions and choice of words were the primary causes of the Board's rebuke. Student writers maintained that these reasons were smoke screens to cover the administration's unhappiness with articles critical of College policies, particularly the use of student fees, as well as the paper's strong anti-war stance. Other defenders of Board action saw a racist trend in some RECORDER coverage, with the Farmington OBSERVER wondering why so much space was allotted to black radical socialists, the Panthers, Angela

Davis, and complaining that in the 24-page February 7 issue "there's not a picture of a white OCC student except on the sports page." At about the same time, Dr. Hill said he would prohibit the distribution on campus of the Ann Arbor SUN, radical news magazine, by presidential edict because he considered it obscene. This prompted students to ask why he permitted PLAYBOY magazine to be sold in the campus bookstores, a distinction they say as capitalist politics. Also, Board members were not pleased that the RECORDER's September 21, 1971 issue devoted a full page to "Dragon Teeth," a column by John Sinclair with a masthead quote from Ho Chi Minh, the North Vietnamese Communist leader: "When the prison doors are opened, the real dragon will fly out."

Through all the fog of charges, accusations, and countercharges, an unexpected pressure in favor of the Trustees and the administration's position was applied by John High, Student Government President. Because he held an influential office not only representing thousands of students but because his vote on the Student-Faculty Finance Committee (which recommended the paper's budget) was pivotal, High's voice got attention. In addition, the Student Government appointed the four members of the Pub Board and held power over their continuation in those spots. In a memo to Editor John David Smith, High gave this assessment of the RECORDER:

> I am appalled and very much concerned with the recent issue the RECORDER. Not only did it lack good journalism, but journalism period, was absent. I find your selection of front page coverage and photos totally unnecessary and completely irrelevant to promoting and perpetuating student interest, problems and news concerning the students here on campus.
>
> As Student Government President I shall do all in my jurisdiction to insure that better journalism, both pro and con, become a reality on this campus. I find it totally inconceivable that such an organization which, with the exception of several issues of the Fall semester, provides so little relevance to the majority of the student body.
>
> The paper so often voices its opinion of the Vietnam war, Rainbow People's Party (formerly White Panther Party), John Sinclair, Erotica, etc., but racism on campus receives virtually NO attention by the RECORDER, which, in my opinion is as racist and just as "establishment" as it claims the administrators are.
>
> It is obvious that the RECORDER needs reorganization. As Editor, I hope you will look into this problem.

In particular, High found fault with Editor Smith's philosophy of "communal democracy" which permitted the publishing of student copy

without editing, and allowed the editor no controlling voice or ultimate decision power. Believing that this operating philosophy had been responsible for the anarchy that developed, High pushed for a return to the normal structure that made the editor accountable. Acceding to the strong financial hand wielded by Student Government, the RECORDER staff began making improvements that were reported to the Trustees at their February 17 meeting. As Dean, I had insisted that "Dr. Erotica" be omitted from future issues, but the Pub Board opted for leaving it in "as long as the column was handled with greater attention to educational value and that frivolous detail was eliminated." Regarding the offensive vocabulary, it was recommended that "four-letter words, sometimes considered objectionable by some sources, be used only when context warrants such use." This position was also endorsed by the Ad Hoc Committee on Publications which had been created to set guidelines for improving the paper.

Finally realizing that the administration was serious about reform and corrections for the RECORDER, but, more vital, recognizing the power of its own Student Government, the Pub Board voted to censure the editor for the infamous January 13 issue, and had him appear to present his version of the Code of Ethics, a part of the paper's charter. Although voicing compliance, the editor did nothing to change the paper's direction and the offensive sections and language appeared in the next two editions. Knowing full well that there would be a barrage of criticism, I made the following ultimatum in a memo to the editor:

1. If any objectionable four-letter words appear in future issues of the RECORDER, the Dean of Students will place a "Hold" on those offices of the College which assist in the paper's production: the Printshop, clerical typing assistance, the Student Activities Office, and the Business Office.

2. Holds will not be released until the Editor has met with the Dean to review copy for any future issue. The purpose of the review will be to advise but not to censor.

With great reluctance, the editor shared copy for the March 13 issue which featured a two-page story on homosexuality replete with four-letter words and a particularly offensive "Charlie Brown" column. Pointing these out as troublesome, I reminded the editor and staff that time was running out on the likelihood that the Trustees would cease RECORDER publication altogether. Nevertheless, the paper appeared unedited and I issued my order to suspend future printing until the Pub Board could meet. Prior to that meeting, the advisor tried to marshall opposition to my

requesting the Senate Council to endorse a statement of concern:

> The Orchard Ridge Academic Senate Council is concerned with the apparent abridgement of basic First Amendment rights of free speech and free press inherent in the proposal of the Dean of Students that copy for the RECORDER be submitted to him for his "review" and "advice" prior to publication.
>
> The Senate Council urges the Board in Control of Student Publications and the Dean of Students to reconsider this requirement. The Council does not in any sense defend the content of the RECORDER that has caused the Dean of Student's action. The Council is concerned, however, that an important basic freedom may be sacrificed in an attempt to solve a far less important problem.

Armed with this statement, the advisor came to the meeting and lectured those assembled on the Constitution, the Declaration of Human Rights, the Peter Zenger case, and the Pentagon Papers decision related to freedom of the press. It could be demonstrated that the advisor won the battle but lost the war: the Pub Board voted to reject my action of "prior review," but at its next meeting, the Student-Faculty Finance Committee cut the RECORDER budget for the coming academic year by 63 percent.

What the Trustees and administration had not been able to accomplish for fear of censorship charges had been done by the Student Government's power of the purse. With reduced funds, the RECORDER was forced to limit its number of pages printed, to forego Summer issues, and with the onset of a new Spring semester bringing reduced enrollment and readership to exercise some restraint in handling topics of potential controversy.

And, like many other imbroglios that depended on a continuing support base, the battle would lessen as students moved on, and a new assortment of freshmen appeared in the Fall. The Trustees' three-month probation period faded away with President Hill's report that improvements were continuing on the RECORDER following the Dean's suspension of publication.

Although the struggle over what constitutes freedom of the press had ended as campus and community interest turned elsewhere, the administration realized that its arsenal of control was becoming empty. In March, 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court struck

down a Georgia law that made it a crime to use "bad language" in the presence of another person. In reporting the case, the Detroit FREE PRESS wrote that a Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organizer had been sentenced to a year in prison for telling a policeman "White son-of-a-bitch, I'll kill you."

These realities were secondary to the growing recognition on the part of the RECORDER that it was dependent on others for the money to publish. When the new Fall, 1972 semester began, Chris Geyer, the paper's first female editor, explained that a new philosophy would appear: "Last year's editorial direction and staff were aimed at pushing 'peace, love, and dope' which was fine for awhile, but it's over now. The paper was very political and a growing segment of the student population was turned off. We want to change that and make it more relevant to wide student interests." While becoming progressively more conservative, the paper would experience periodic episodes of controversy. Before the decade ended, President Hill would be the brunt of several vicious cartoons because of the controversial use of student monies and for some unpopular administrative appointments. As noted earlier, Provost Manilla would be chastised in a headline for destroying a large, snow-sculptured penis ("Administrative Kick Castrates Sculpture").

The paper's other suspension during the decade would occur not over sex or four-letter words but because of its failure to comply with the rules of student organizations. In February, 1973 the Detroit NEWS ran a headline "OCC Newspaper Claims It Was Forced Underground" with the explanation that Orchard's Student Government had suspended the campus paper. Student President Herbert Flowers was quoted saying that the RECORDER had failed to attend mandatory meetings of the Student Activity Board, and had ignored important events that were worthy of coverage in print. In retaliation, the paper's staff printed an "Expatriate" RECORDER for Orchard's 5,000 students and claimed that the new paper would be supported by paid advertising. Quickly realizing that this income would be insufficient for future copies, the staff made its peace with Student Government and resumed its ties with the campus purse strings.

By 1975 peace had returned to the paper wars of OCC although there would be occasional skirmishes that helped to fuel campus gossip. Orchard's racy newspaper history would influence the new fourth College campus which opened in the early 1970s. A mimeographed student publication of the Southeast Campus would be entitled CAMPUS INTERCOURSE but, as a relieved dean and advisor would sigh and say, "Thank God, there are no pictures."

Much had been learned, however, from the RECORDER fiasco as statistics quickly revealed: by 1975, the paper's staff which had a high of about 90 students would dwindle to 10, and a budget which had been the largest of any campus organization would fall to a few thousand dollars. Most crucial to all future staffs was the reality that a patient Board of Trustees did have the power to stop the presses, and would be willing, under duress, to spend legal fees for a possible court battle. Lodged in the memory banks of deans and advisors, these experiences would be passed on to elementary journalists for their cogitation.

Trustees and administrators would continue to experience a degree of nervousness each time they picked up the latest student edition, but there would be less uncertainty that had existed in January, 1972.

POSTSCRIPT: It could be argued that the RECORDER's problems developed because its contents and publishing philosophy were "ahead of the times." With the apex of the so-called sexual revolution in the 70s, almost every major newspaper in America was carrying sexual advice columns with "Dr. Ruth" Westheimer capitalizing on the "Dr. Erotica" format. For example, the Detroit NEWS' resident sexologist in 1976 responded to a reader's question about oral sex with a half-page answer that was as descriptive as any appearing in the controversial RECORDER. In addition, the late 70s and early 80s saw the evolution of "shock" TV and radio topics dealing openly and graphically with formerly-taboo topics. Oprah Winfrey, Sally Jessie Raphael, Phil Donahue, and Geraldo Rivera grabbed the erotic spotlight in a quest for a larger share of the audience.

With a sense of delayed victory, the RECORDER correspondents could also smile and say, "We told you f------ so!"

10

Professors Who Gladly Teach

Henry Flynt, Harvard A.B., Class of 1693, served there as a tutor, without promotion, for 55 years.
Frederick Rudolph

And gladly would he learn and gladly teach. THE CANTERBURY TALES

Geoffrey Chaucer's 13th Century scholar epitomizes the ambition, hard work, dedication, and aspirations of teachers and learners over the centuries. While Chaucer envisioned some of the ideals related to education, his prescience about teachers in the 20th Century was hardly adequate. Few visionary thinkers could have anticipated the changes that evolved in education: innovative ideas, technology, the professionalization and unionization of classroom leaders would bring challenge and change to students and the larger society as well. And yet through all this, there would result a degree of sameness. As the paean for individualized, instruction remained elusive, James A. Garfield's bromide "Give me a log hut, with one simple bench, Mark Hopkins (a great thinker) at one end and I at the other, and you may have all the buildings, apparatus, and libraries without him" became a fantasy destroyed by the sheer weight of student numbers. However, the professor continues to be the center of attention whether technology is employed or not.

If, in the library of higher education, students are considered the magnus opus, professors must be seen as the pen and ink of its construction. Two-year college instructors have claimed uniqueness vis-a-vis their university counterparts because of the emphasis placed on teaching at the community college. Research and publication responsibilities required of others present no cumbersome baggage on the backs of local professors as the classrooom takes primary focus. Still, instructors there cannot escape the stereotypes of the absent-minded professor and the isolated ivory tower mentality fostered by university types and

by Hollywood. Among the eccentric would be Will Durant's Professor Hegel who often entered the lecture room with only one shoe, having left the other, unnoticed, in the mud. His American mirror image would likely be Thorsten Veblen of THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS fame. An enfant terrible who hated college administrators, Veblen was a non-conformist extraordinaire whose behavior, described by Robert Heilbroner, would be modeled by professors in the 60s, 70s, and 80s. This classic nonconformist delighted in driving students away believing that fewer was better. Sometimes ending a semester with only one student , he became elusive by reducing his three-day office hours to a posted schedule reading "Mondays: 10 to 10:05." As a flouter of convention, Veblen gave all students the same grade regardless of their performance, and if one needed a higher grade to qualify for a scholarship, he agreeably changed a "C" to an "A."

Another stereotype would reveal less cooperative professors. Centuries earlier, Cicero had warned: "The authority of those who teach is very often a hindrance to those who wish to learn." Some saw themselves comfortably ensconced in power positions similar to Teddy Roosevelt's "bully pulpit" and functioned as petty autocrats described by Montaigne in the 16th Century:

> The usual way (of tutors) is to bawl into a student's ears as if one were pouring water, and the boy's business is to simply repeat what he is told.

Three hundred years later, when students were storming administrators' barricades, professors and academic departments would be suggested as more appropriate targets for bringing corrections. A Cornell political scientist, Steven Muller, would give a Veblenesque assessment of his peers: "The greatest reward of a professor's professional achievement is to teach as little as possible. Relief from teaching is the ultimate fringe benefit." This reality would be substantiated by a two-year college expert, Norman C. Harris, who believes that "community colleges are over-administered and that most professors are under-worked---not overpaid, but under-worked." The average 12-15 contact hours of teaching per week, with class sizes at 25 or below, he says, is not a full-time job.

In THE ACADEMIC REVOLUTION, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman raised similar objections to faculty rigidity by saying that "while community colleges have not been tied to traditional academic definitions of appropriate qualifications for teaching, neither have they been especially imaginative in utilizing new kinds of instructors. Like their public school cousins, they have often insisted on just enough academic certification to bar the employment of gifted amateurs from other occupations." They also

accused community college faculty of generally perpetuating a "quite rigid pattern of instruction." Most instructors, they maintained, continue to teach what they were taught in four-year colleges, immunized from new ideas both by isolation and by the prestige of the models they are emulating.

Community colleges were refuges for middle and low ability students, and few professors were aware that in assuming this challenge, they were in good company. Emmanuel Kant, a university professor at Konigsberg loved this challenging group: one of his practical principles was to attend most to those pupils who were of middle ability; the dunces, he said, were beyond all help, and the geniuses would help themselves. Two-year college instructors concentrated on the middle group without abandoning those with less ability. Unlike their university neighbors who had prestige by virtue of location, they accepted the role of teaching free of pressures for getting doctorates and having to "publish or perish." College teaching is a somewhat mysterious and complex undertaking that is little understood. Despite all the countless volumes written on pedagogy proclaiming what works and what doesn't, the professor-student tandem remains clouded in much mystery. The public generally doesn't comprehend that what works with one young mind fails to excite another.

Into this complex milieu came Oakland's budding professors from a variety of backgrounds. Because a new college was opening every week somewhere across America, President Tirrell faced a substantial challenge finding a qualified faculty for his new institution. By March, 1965, six months before Oakland's opening, he had been to UCLA, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Florida, and had obtained 10 applications from Columbia University. With the deans, he had interviewed 75 applicants at U of M, and in a progress letter to the Board stated: "I am confident that we will have an outstanding staff come September, 1965." Excited about the quality of applicants, of which 135 would be hired, Tirrell had high expectations regarding their responsibilities: "We tell all the faculty that we are expecting that this instructional systems plan is being built around them, expecting them to be on campus around 40 hours a week." At faculty meetings and professional conferences he loved to quote John Fischer's "sacred mountain" criticism:

> Some professors still believe that higher education is an arcane rite which ought to be conducted by (and largely for the benefit of) its own Sanhedrin, without interference from the peasantry. In the old days, when college was the privilege of a small elite, they could get away with this disdainful posture.

Eager to participate in a college-wide experiment to improve college teaching, the faculty came to inaugurate "New Paths For Learning." Of the 129 hired by July 1, 38 came from senior institutions, 10 from other community colleges, 27 from public schools, 21 from business and industry, and 33 directly from university graduate programs. In addition to their teaching backgrounds, OCC's new faculty included a former interpreter for a Congolese ambassador, a General Motors executive, a freelance writer, an insurance actuary, an industrial psychologist, a securities salesman, a Democratic legislative assistant, and a private tutor. A cosmopolitan group, they represented 23 different states and six foreign countries. Although staffing was done for the planned, atypical approach to instruction, the President still talked about a 25-1 student-teacher ratio. A competitive salary schedule had been approved for 1965-66:

Teaching Aide	Teaching Assistant	Instructor	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Professor
Steps:					
1 - 3,600	5,000	6,300	7,500	9,000	11,000
2 - 3,800	5,200	6,500	7,800	9,400	11,500
3 - 4,000	5,400	6,700	8,100	9,800	12,000
4 - 4,400	5,800	7,000	8,500	10,200	12,500

While many came for the money, the majority came for the excitement of trying something different. One of these was 63 year-old Harold Richards who had taught at Hazel Park High for 27 years and then served five years as a counselor. Instead of retiring, Richards explained: "I wanted a change after all those years and I thought it would be interesting to go up there where they have some new ideas on instruction." Hired as a professor of political science and economics, Richards was destined to become a highly-revered instructor, colleague, and chairman of the social science department. His love of the classroom and concern for student welfare became a model for younger faculty and administrators searching for their niches at OCC. The regard felt for this kind man was noted in the "Dean's Bulletin" in 1969:

> Bon Voyage: Harold Richards will leave on May 2 for a European vacation. While Mrs. Richards visits cathedrals Harold plans to do a sociological study of Pigaille in Paris and the Hofbrauhaus in Munich. We are looking forward to Harold's return and a report of his findings. Undoubtedly there will be considerable revision of SSC 151 to include Mr. Richards' research.

After 10 years of teaching crowded classrooms, Richards would "really retire" and then teach as an OCC adjunct professor for another seven years.

At the other end of the "perfect professor" spectrum was Lawrence Murphy, a political science colleague of Richards. Stout, sandy-haired, and loquacious, Murphy had come directly to Oakland from graduate school and was gingerly feeling his way up academia's career ladder. Apparently not successful at that venture, the faculty union would eventually argue that Murphy was the only OCC professor to ever be fired. On the basis of limited information, this charge may never be proven.

In December, 1965, Professor Murphy declared in an interview in the Auburn NIKE that it was too early to judge the new teaching technique. A year later he participated in an "Exposition in Learning" conference speaking on the social sciences, and in 1967, was named Publications Chair of a new society of professionals called the Association of Political Scientists. That March he served as Acting Division Chair for the academic discipline, and a month later appeared in the NIKE's list of "Instructors Honored (?)" with this notation:

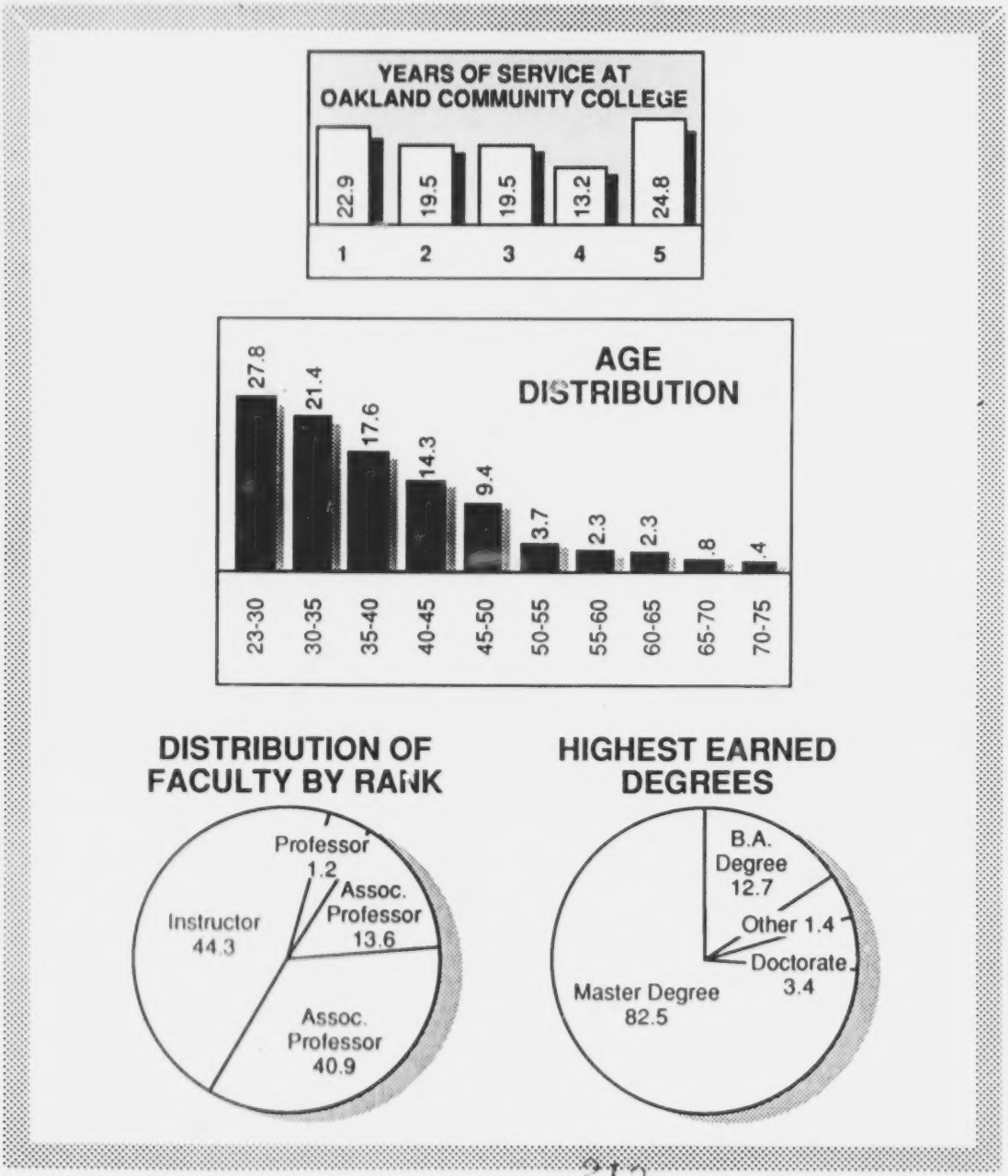
> Mr. Murphy wins the "Climb Every Mountain" or "Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf?" Award, for obvious reasons.

Known for having a volatile temper, he brought two students to my Auburn counseling office for interrupting his class to have drop forms signed. He maintained that they threatened him with bodily harm. After he cooled, I interviewed the students and got a completely different interpretation of the encounter.

Unhappy with his Auburn officemates, Murphy transferred to the Highland campus in 1968 where he experienced difficulties with Dean Levinson who recommended that he be fired because of incompetence. An example was given to show the professor's irrationality: in answering a student complaint that Murphy refused to deal with a question about U.S. relations with Vietnam, the professor replied that "this class is called State and Local Politics, and Southeast Asia has absolutely no bearing on this topic." Murphy challenged the Dean's negative judgment, threatened court action, and President Hill refused to support the Dean. The following year Murphy transferred to Orchard Ridge where he was subject to no faculty evaluation nor required to provide course syllabi or meet office hours. But problems with students and colleagues continued until the Political Science Department was in shambles. Out of desperation, the department demanded that the administration resolve the conflict, and with few alternatives, the College did not renew his contract for the 1972-73 academic year. With some reluctance, the faculty union (OCCFA) grieved the dismissal, and indicated to the administration that Murphy would agree to leave with a cash payment of $6,000. Rejected by the College, the case went to arbitration where George Rummel, the arbitrator, ruled that OCC had failed to protect Murphy's "due process rights." The rumor

mill subsequently said that the College "paid him off" to leave, to the tune of $67,000 (more than 10 times what OCCFA had suggested as a settlement), but the confidentiality of personnel files leaves the rumors unverified. The official public record, the BOARD DIGEST, November 15, 1973, simply shows "Resignation: Lawrence Murphy."

As expected, the continuum of faculty talents at Oakland ran from a Harold Richards to a Lawrence Murphy with hundreds of individuals at various points along the spectrum. Within five years after the initial hirings, the profile of faculty would reveal a rather young group of masters degree holders who held rather low academic rank in the pecking order of professors.



Professor Richards' dedication was similar to most staff who went beyond Tirrell's expectation and put in 50-60 hour on campus preparing course materials, tutoring students, and correcting papers. Truly giving it "the old college try," everybody wanted the innovations to be successful, but, as noted in earlier chapters, the mission was overwhelming for the leaders and the disciples. Energetic, optimistic faculty of the 1960s would become frustrated, pessimistic professors of the 1970s. How can we account for this transformation? Possible explanations would surely include:

- anxiety caused by the breakdown in the availability of teaching materials, and clogs in the media supply lines,
- onset of a tiredness related to being in the experimental group,
- impatience with authoritarian administrators, and
- growing unionization in the State of Michigan---some faculty with public school experience had been active in improving working conditions (i.e., a 40-hour work week could be more attractively packaged as a 16-hour work week).

Some professors may even have agreed with Steven Muller of Cornell who said that teaching fewer classes was a legitimate goal. Whatever explanation one chooses to put forth, there can be no doubt that disaffection was entering the picture. "We vs. They" demarcation lines were appearing as attitudes on issues pointed toward the unionization of not only the teaching staff but other College groups as well. The camaraderie of the early days was replaced by a condition that was adversarial. Within two year, Tirrell was heard to comment: "The staff soon behaved like they were the best without the effort and thought we had hoped for."

By January, 1967, formal evaluation procedures were established which fostered the "we-they" negative mentality because they were used for determining promotions in rank which affected personal judgments and, more significant, personal income. In addition, the early skirmishes about differences of opinion took the form of impersonal memo wars. Describing a faculty member's office as a "rat's nest," and a "health hazard," deans sent blanket memos with directives on personal habits. Evil tobacco became the focus of annual epistles to faculty and students alike as administrators worried about new carpet rather than good health habits. A random sample of memoranda revealed that those of a disciplinary nature far outweighed those announcing seminars and programs sponsored by the campus nurse. In a 1967 memo, Provost Richard Wilson included the smoking ban with a command to remove "electrical appliances (i.e.,

from individual offices immediately."

Forever lurking on the horizon, student newspapers took up caustic pens to chastise faculty and everyone else. A September, 1967 Orchard RECORDER launched this salvo:

> Faculty goofoffs are a thorn in the side of Division Heads as well as the administration, and both hate to talk about them because they hope the offenders will disappear if they are ignored. It seems funny that these people are tolerated, rather than weeded out of the faculty ranks.

Earlier, a disgruntled student wrote the editor to report getting an "A" in a class he had never attended. Usually considered a necessary evil in the teaching-learning connection, college grading practices were dramatically altered during this decade. Some professors took a reactionary, humanized view that grading was a fascist act to be avoided. The phenomenon known as "grade inflation" had come to Oakland (and almost all other colleges in the U.S.) as these comparative figures disclose:

FALL SEMESTER GRADES

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
A	9.4	13.6	12.2	18.4	23.6	25.8
B	18.3	17.9	16.5	22.0	24.5	22.7
C	20.3	21.5	21.6	22.5	18.2	15.3
D	9.4	9.1	9.4	6.2	3.9	3.2
Passing	57.4	62.1	59.7	69.1	70.2	67.1
F	18.9	13.3	12.4	2.5	1.8	1.2
Incomplete	3.6	6.8	7.9	5.3	7.0	7.9
Withdrew	20.1	17.8	20.0	22.1	21.0	23.9

A profile of incoming OCC freshmen included a majority of low high school performers, and a smaller percentage of "older" students, more mature and serious about their studies. Analysis of semester grades seemed to reveal that the professors had worked a "miracle" in these students' academic lives: eyes were opened, ears unplugged, and the brain healed of its 18 year-old atrophy.

And, certainly the recorded grades proved the metamorphosis ...or did it? Were faculty giving high grades to guarantee job security; in a decade of self-discovery, was a psyche to be

permanently injured if it got something less than the "gentlemanly C?" In an era of non-judgmental egalitarianism, did anyone have the right to judge another? As dean, I had countless arguments with a few faculty who gave all A's under the umbrella of "academic freedom": "It's my classroom and these are my students, and I'll do what I like." Did the academic deans ever want to confront this sham head-on and face a grievance or a day in court? Very few deans across the nation were willing because what evolved at Oakland occurred at almost every college and university as well.*

Grades aside, battle lines were drawn more emphatically as the faculty unionized in 1966 after some had functioned as an informal advisory body to President Tirrell and his staff. By 1969, the behavior of professors was a grave concern to Provost Stan Hergenroeder at Highland as indicated in his staff minutes: "On campus, between campuses, and college-wide, people are taking a negative attitude toward everything." Fearing an outburst at the April 17 Board meeting, Hergenroeder stated that "a fiasco is certainly not needed at this time. Faculty could be hurt by expressing their views before the Board and not with the President. Faculty must communicate through the formal channels."

These channels were apparently breaking down as more and more faculty came to see administrators as aloof functionaries whose most vital function was to help them get a check from the computer at central office.

Much friction was generated by the experimental nature of the educational approaches continued by President Hill. A faculty publication, THE MONITOR, presented a perspective that was definitely not the kind of communication channel desired by the Highland Provost. A note of anger and frustration was found in an early edition:

> At last Thursday's Senate meeting President Hill said he would "do everything in his power" to prevent any department from "opting out" of the new systems approach. This raises the issue of academic "leadership." Perhaps the administration should file student records, not students; "process" materials not persons; "package" supplies, not courses; and "systematize" administration, not the art of teaching.
>
> Dr. Hill also said that for any department not to employ his approach to education would be to "disadvantage" their students. Is it remotely possible that there is some other way of educating that is not inherently inferior to his?

---

* In June, 1988, Yale University voted to limit its number of honor graduates because "grade inflation has produced so many honors recipients that the award is losing its mark of distinction." This action resulted because 50.5 percent of the 1986 class graduated with honors.

Faculty feared that all staff would be forced into Hill's Educational Sciences mold and that academic variety would cease. At one public meeting, a threatened professor quoted Walter Lippman to the defensive President: "Where all men think alike, no one thinks at all." These exchanges prompted another professor to use the MONITOR to express his views in free verse:

> Here at Okeefenokee C.C.
> We made learning facts
> The jewel of great price.
> How sad.

Expressions of faculty positions took a formal turn over time; one example was a petition signed by 156 professors and carried to the May 14, 1970 Board Study Session by Professor Lawrence Gage. Imploring the Trustees to help close the administration-staff credibility gap, Gage expressed concern about North Central accreditation problems, the lack of campus autonomy, and the domination of central office. Trustee Hackett, who believed that "the fewer administrators, the better," endorsed the concerns and the call for greater stability within the institution.

Similar skirmishes occurred over the following years with a faculty-dominated Academic Senate issuing a Statement of Concern in May, 1974. It was a 25-page document critical of Hill and his stances on Educational Sciences, productivity, and "controlled growth." Provost Manilla retaliated at Orchard with an administrative dictum on faculty tardiness, absenteeism, and faulted those professors who used Vice-President Nunney's "burst" concept to simply dismiss classes. Student committees would enter the fray with semi-successful attempts to rate faculty teaching so that choices about class selection could be made. In April, 1973, at Highland, a Committee to Humanize Education published a "Student Evaluation of Faculty Guide" modeled after those done at other campuses. Such judgments would identify those faculty to avoid but would be of little aid to the 50 percent of enrollment that was new each Fall. A better service would be the student grapevine which named professors that students should avoid. For example, these kinds of instructors were to be avoided at all costs:

- A Physical Education professor who required Karate students to buy uniforms from his private business operation.
- Psychologists who used the classroom to recruit patients for their outside clinics.
- Instructors campaigning for public office who made petition-circulation a class requirement.
- Professors who sexually exploited willing coeds prior to the enactment of sexual harassment regulations.

- A biologist who gave extra credit to enrollees who did home improvement projects at his home.

- Professors who registered family members for their classes in order to get maximum extra pay.

- Art faculty who recruited disciples for an expensive self-development venture that had little validity.

The primary motivation for faculty to become avaricious was a collective bargaining agreement that paid professors for teaching additional classes and extra students. Over time, it became possible to almost double one's salary by carrying a maximum work load and making sure that each class section had full enrollment. Competition for students became so keen that Vietnam's "body count" took on new meaning, and a few instructors became known as "headhunters." Some faculty simply took advantage of new-found wealth and the opportunities to achieve same.

At the same time those concerned about quality instruction, both the administration and the union, began to ask searching questions: How do we account for faculty performance standards that gravitate to a low level? There was little awareness or recognition given to the fact that a colleague who didn't perform well was affecting everyone's reputation. The professor who gave all A's to students no matter what kind of performance, that instructor who is simply putting in his time waiting for retirement, the colleague who shows videos all week so he doesn't have to "teach"---all these diminish the reputation of institution whether it's innovative or not. Part of the lack of negative sanctioning was hidden under the righteous banner of academic freedom, part of it was administrators becoming too power-hungry, (in effect, faculty were saying "If they do it to him, they may do something bad to me next time"), and, because academic departments are a collection of "equals," the rest was the egalitarian notion which militated against official chastisement from within. No matter what list of faculty foibles or failures are tallied, it is the administrators who must bear responsibility for influencing staff behaviors, and, in collective bargaining, for allowing certain powers to be bargained away.

If labor contracts put restrictions on the evaluation of tenured faculty and encouraged professors to teach double loads, or more, to earn incomes triple the national median income, it is Presidents and Trustees who agreed to those provisions. By 1975, most deans felt that their ability to administer had been bargained away and that Joe Hill's legacy was a pervasive ennui among an enervated group of administrators, devoid of any meaningful power or influence, left to see that the computer did produce staff pay checks on time.

Any final statement on community college faculty, however, must conclude that the OCC contingent was composed of a majority of dedicated, hardworking professionals who loved their academic fields and appreciated the diversity of students who came to share a common pursuit of knowledge. And, come they did, by the thousands, most to perform well, earn diplomas permitting them to move on to universities and employment where they also succeeded. As a dean, I could argue, unequivocally, that as a group, this faculty could compete with any college group in America.

Indeed, Geoffrey Chaucer would have been proud of these scholars and teachers.

11

Case Study: From Professor to Federal District Court

Every organization in America should have a "common sense" committee. Louise Sullivan

There are no colleges or universities in America where a person automatically becomes a dean or president without serving time in the trenches of the classroom, counseling center or support services offices. Although some graduate schools have programs for preparing higher education administrators, the training ground is typically the professoriate and then advancement into the leadership ranks. In the consumer-conscious 1970s some universities ventured outside the ivy walls to recruit successful entrepreneurs in an effort to compete in a tighter student market and to prevent deficit budgets. The common route then is professor-administrator-professor or retirement, and since the tenure of a college chief is about five years, the surer termination point is a return to a faculty position. Sometimes this routine is abruptly interrupted when the professor-now-administrator is fired. The Gerald Faye case at Oakland is that kind of episode. It is told under the heading of "faculty" because the accused spent more time as a professor than as administrator, and because the classroom is the breeding ground for future deans and presidents. The case is also somewhat of a landmark of security for professors throughout higher education who seek the challenge of a different leadership position without sacrificing their tenure as an instructor.

Why would a college governing board fire one of its executive officers over an expense account item valued at $87.50? And, when that officer sued to retain his job, why would the board be willing to encounter eight months of bad publicity over such a paltry sum? Or, was there more to the story?

As a political scientist, Gerald Faye personified those qualities one hopes to find in a college professor: speaking in the

great stentorian tones of a seasoned politician that he had been and was, bringing a presence to the lecture hall with his formal, yet comfortable, manner and attire (although the latter appeared somewhat ruffled on his broad frame), and posturing a somewhat aloof intellectualism that evaporated in personal contacts with students. Having come by his noted histrionics and egocentric nature honestly, Faye was descended from a rare group of New England "shanty Irish" forebears who had been active in show business. While working to become upwardly mobile, he learned from his mother a service ethic that pushed him toward teaching. With an ecumenical foundation provided by Catholic elementary and Protestant secondary schools, Faye went from Stoneybrook Preparatory to the University of Cincinnati, and on to the University of Michigan for a masters degree.

Staying on at U of M to do doctoral work, he spent time in the State capitol as a Ford Fellow doing legislative research as assistant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Returning to Ann Arbor, he became a supervisor of correspondence for the Alumni Association where he met Jack Tirrell, Director of the Association. Even though Faye possessed a university orientation he responded to Tirrell's invitation in 1965 to come to a new college and help develop the political science curriculum. In addition to writing the "systems" course packages, he coordinated five tutors in the Behavioral Sciences Department of which he soon became chairman. At Oakland, Faye's loquaciousness became legendary as he rose to the position of popular professor and respected colleague who engendered good-natured jostling. An office mate explained this trait: "Gerald epitomized that joke about the verbose guy who, on opening the refrigerator, talks for five minutes when the light comes on."

Active in his wider discipline, Faye journeyed to Washington, D.C. in April, 1969 to present a speech, "The State Legislature: Its Problems and Prospects," at the Institute on State Government and Administration. His appearances before the Board of Trustees had begun a year earlier when he pointed out that the proposed budget reflected a greater portion of the funding devoted to administration rather than to instruction. According to the Board minutes, "he informed the Board that a budget is build over a period of years and made his point regarding the distribution of the funds for the Board's information." On May 15, 1969, he returned to the Board to voice objection to cutting 17 faculty positions from the budget. Little noticed at the time was the appointment of Derek Nunney as the new vice-president for instruction. At a later date, Nunney would appear as Faye's nemesis, helping to foment the case that ended in Federal District Court.

It was Public Act 379 that really brought Faye's leadership

to the fore. This document permitted Michigan educators to create unions with collective bargaining agreements. Joining with others of like mind, he helped write the constitution of the OCC Faculty Association (OCCFA), was president of the Highland chapter, and became chief negotiator for the College group in 1969. This latter role revealed a Machiavellian streak that would be used to advantage in other contacts both on campus and in the community, as well as an expertise in using the quid pro quo to his advantage.

Beginning innocently enough, the Gerald Faye Case opened when President Hill sought him out to be the Acting Provost at Highland in October, 1969, shortly thereafter becoming permanent campus head. Because of his Lansing capitol contacts and the vital part that State aid played in the College budget, Faye was named legislative liaison to accompany his administrative duties. In this capacity he tried to influence lawmakers of both political parties to look kindly on the growing institution in Oakland County by employing whatever was needed to influence votes. Other than being outspoken on some issues and controversies within the college, Faye remained relatively quiescent for the first two years in his dual role as Provost and lobbyist.

The first hint of trouble arose at the Board Executive Session on May 4, 1972, which was called to deal with the Ellens-Greenberg request for an appearance on the PEP film charges. With only the Board present, significant comments were made by the CEO, as recorded in the minutes:

> Dr. Hill also went to some length to inform the Board of many factions at work within the College, the animosities on the part of certain faculty, and Gerald Faye's performance in particular.

Thus begins the unraveling of an archives file containing countless newspaper clippings, a Board of Trustees file filling 264 pages of legal documents and correspondence, and a 101-page Court transcript.

Almost all institutions experience inter-group tension, intrigues, and backbiting, but few ever become particularly newsworthy. They become such when intense entanglement involve public monies. The example of the inside squabbling at the College was noted in the June 21, 1972, SPINAL COLUMN newspaper account of the PEP film public hearing. Faye testified that a reporter had called about the story "and said that Dr. Nunney had stated to him that I (Faye) was his severest critic in the institution." Faye replied that "No, I have not been critical of any programs." The celebrated money topic reared its head with a June 9, DAILY TRIBUNE headline,"Oakland College Continues Educational Experiments," but that actually couched a story investigating administrators' expense

account alleging a practice where "they take each other to lunch on the taxpayers' tab." Inserted in the middle of a half-page account was this seemingly innocuous paragraph:

> Gerald Faye, provost at Highland and College legislative lobbyist has collected more than $3,000 on his 1971-72 expense account.

(It should be noted that an expense accounting statement at OCC generally is an application for reimbursement. Sometimes money is advanced for expenses. The College requires submission of a business receipt and sets limits on what is an allowable expense.)

In relation to salaries that year, Faye's amount was exorbitant and raised questions of ethics and legality which were not discussed publicly at that time.

Faye could not have suspected that a timebomb was about to explode. Having come to the College as part of the charter faculty, he had watched the Board and administrative leadership spend money like the proverbial drunken sailor. During the early months and years of the institution, College leaders had established spending norms that were unique in higher education with a perception that the coffers were inexhaustible and the public's willingness to pay unending. And certainly those expenses he incurred on behalf of the institution in the State capital were a valuable investment for the College's future. Unfortunately for Faye, however, the spectre of bad publicity influenced some Board members to take action.

The only indication that something was amiss developed three weeks later when the Board Digest of the June meeting said:

> Following an Executive Session, the Board approved salary adjustments for three of the Provost, and granted a one-month extension of his present contract to Gerald Faye.

Trustee Gordon Henderson explained that the Board was conducting a probe of the Provost that would occur during the 30-day period. Indications that the investigation would extend beyond District boundaries were confirmed when the Board named Trustee Earl Anderson "their official legislative representative in Lansing subject to the instructions from the Board," without indicating this removal of task from Faye. The suspect Provost next appeared in the press at the Democratic National Convention in Miami where he attended as a stringer for the SPINAL COLUMN. Returning home, he discovered that the Board was continuing the quest for answers, had extended his contract for a second month, and then let it expire without comment on August 14. Three days later, in response to a student inquiry, Trustee Doug Collins read a statement to the public meeting:

> We regret that the College is not in a position at this time to discuss the relationship with Gerald Faye. The matter of Mr. Faye's status with the College is presently under discussion as a confidential matter. Accordingly, any comment by College officials would be improper as well as unfair to the parties. We request your forebearance for the present and can assure you that the matter will be promptly and fairly resolved.

While the Board refused to talk, the deposed Provost, worried about the issue of fairness, broke his silence with a declaration: "I have kept my mouth shut these past six weeks but now I think my reputation was hurt by my silence." He claimed privately that President Hill had told him to "take some money and leave the College" while things were still quiet. Other administrators said, also quietly and not publicly, that Faye "was caught in the middle and was taking the rap for others."

Retaining a lawyer, Ron Egnor of Ypsilanti, Faye said he would go to court because he had been denied due process in the dismissal proceedings. Claiming a violation of freedom of speech for speaking against Hill's imposition of certain teaching methods and particularly Nunney's doctrinaire positions, Faye accused the vice-president of an "unstoppable vendetta" in searching for a "scapegoat" for the PEP film controversy. His firing was prompted, he maintained, by the State auditor general's audit of College finances. Rallying to Faye's defense, the Highland Academic Senate passed a resolution praising his "able leadership," and Chairman Dennis Fiems said, "Faye created an atmosphere of cooperation and progress by working closely with the faculty and staff. We urge you to support him." OCCFA submitted a strong statement of the union's support to the Board with the following proposal:

> Whereas the principle of shared governance has been widely accepted at OCC for the past several years, the Faculty Association therefore respectfully requests that the Board of Trustees establish formal policies that would: Provide for faculty recommendations to the Board by the appropriate Academic Senate body in all matters affecting the hiring and retention of administrators at Oakland Community College.

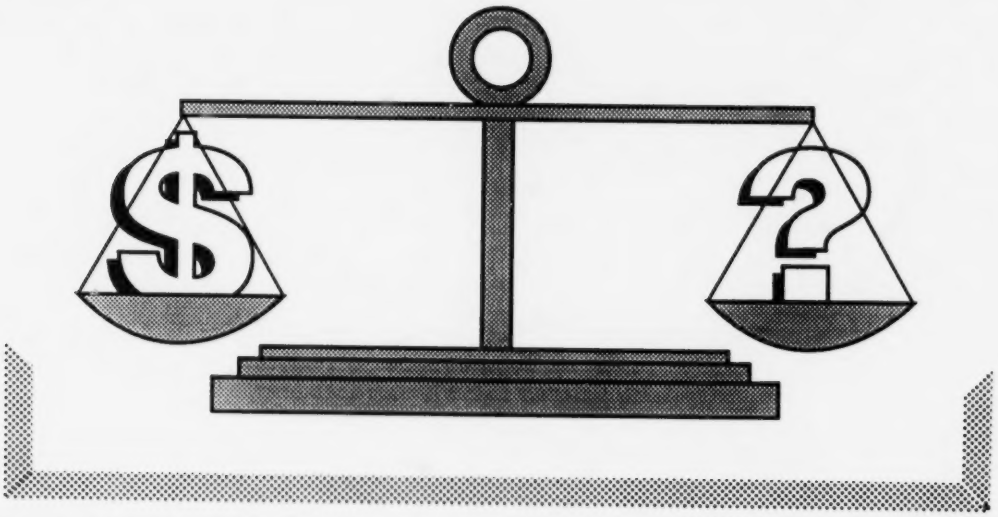
Union President Richard Smith scolded the Board for not holding a formal hearing and not consulting the faculty on the dismissal, and expressed concern "over the failure to offer Faye a chance to return to the faculty where he is welcomed as a respected, tenured teacher. The air is thick with dismay."

In a rare display of faculty support for an administrator, professors established a fund to help with legal costs because Faye had close ties with faculty and close friends in the union. Buoyed by this support, the former Provost went to the court of U.S. Federal District Judge Damon Keith to obtain an injunction preventing his dismissal and suing for $600,000 in damages, stating that "they can't hire or fire people on whims and fancies as they see fit." Public disclosure of falsifying his expense account to cover illegal State legislative campaign contributions was finally made on September 13, although Board attorneys refused to divulge details. Records show that Faye had early contact with College expense procedures: the November 5, 1965 check register indicate that he was issued a "travel voucher" in the amount of $33.

In opening salvos Faye's lawyer argued that "academic freedom" was at the heart of the case because his client had been fired for questioning educational policy, and he then disclosed to those assembled that former President Tirrell had called Vice-President Nikkel about the negative publicity appearing in the press. Nikkel denied that Tirrell had said in a July telephone call that "his friends on the Board would take care of Faye." Subsequent testimony spotlighted alleged misuses of College funds by Faye who made political contributions and then doctored his expense account records to obtain reimbursement. He maintained that his superiors were aware that expenses were a normal part of his lobbyist contacts. The cross-denials caused one onlooker to comment, "It's like the piano player in the bordello who told the police that he didn't know what was going on upstairs." Under heavy questioning, Hill denied authorizing such a procedure and made a surprise announcement on the stand:

> I offered to resign because I had signed and approved his (Faye's) expense account statements without checking. I would sign his expense accounts in good faith and support. I assumed he could explain his spending.

Of the $3,000 in expenses reimbursed during 1971-72, Faye was accused by the College of misusing $87.50.



Some of the testimony on September 27 and October 3 reveals insights into College operations that go beyond the purview of the specific charges being debated. They also give some unique views of the judicial process as depicted in specific quotations from the court transcript.

Expense Accounts: Faye's Explanation

> And I told him (Trustee Mosher) that I hadn't done anything I hadn't been ordered to do by the President, and he went on to say something to the effect that he didn't want to be very moralistic about expense accounts, but, on the other hand, that I should not have done anything that the President ordered me to do if I didn't really indeed want to do it or didn't think it was right.
>
> And I pointed out to him that I had been in the Air Force for a good number of years and in that period of time I had learned pretty much to follow orders. I said that I must agree with the President or any other boss; I might argue with them or try and dissuade them, but usually when an order came down, I did exactly what I was told to do.

Faye Called Into Board's Executive Session

> The President then came in from the next office...and sat next to Trustee Henderson. And Mr. Henderson said to me that it was the consensus of the Board that I be disassociated from the College.
>
> And I asked him something to the effect of, does that mean not being returned to faculty? And he intimated that was the case. And I asked him what the specific charges were against

me. And he said we are not prepared to give them at this time.

And I suggested to the Board at that time that I thought after seven years' period of time with the College, that I deserved a little better treatment than that.

Q. Did you meet with Mr. Condit? (College attorney)

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Were you ever given a statement of the specific charges or reasons for your separation from Oakland Community College?

A. No, I was not.

Evaluation of Job Performance

The Court: During your seven years with the College, were you ever called in before the President to say that your work wasn't satisfactory? Had you been performing up to par?

A. To the best of my knowledge, I had been performing up to par. I am sure that during the---certainly I hadn't been called in by the President under the first four years when I had been a faculty member, when he in effect supported the faculty recommendation that I become Provost. In the subsequent three years I am sure from time to time there were things that I and other people did that he didn't like exactly the way we did them but not in terms of any formal or even informal spanking as such. .There would be things that he might have handled different than I might have handled, the same as with all the rest of us, but nothing---he never indicated why---

The Court: Dissatisfaction?

A. ---dissatisfaction with my operation of the campus.

The Court: During the first four years while you were teaching, was there any interview with the President in terms of your performance there?

A. No sir, there was not. I was promoted several times during that period of time.

Q. (By Mr. Egnor). There is an additional question on this line. Mr. Faye, did you have a conversation with Mr. Hill on the night of June 29th? (Board Executive Session).

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. What did he say to you at that time?

A. That this wasn't his doing and that he didn't like it and that in fact he had objected to it so strenuously that Mr. Mosher (Trustee) called him a roadblock.

What Constitutes Legitimate Expenses?

Q. Well, is it your position that some of the documents that you submitted to the College---seeking reimbursement for expenses, were questionable in your mind?

A. Any expense item is a questionable one when an administrator hands it in because he has got to ascertain for himself whether or not he feels, I mean, there is a lot of judgment involved, whether or not he feels that it is really the school's expense versus his own, particularly in a role such as mine, because it's my capacity to decide on an interim basis every evening whether or not I have to work and if I have to work, whether or not there is a College expense involved in terms of a meal. And so in that sense I always had to question my expense account and so, when the monthly time came to hand these in, it was always a traumatic situation.

I submitted items that might have been a College expense in part but might have also have been an expense that I didn't know whether it was completely the College thing but that I had been told to submit expenditures such as that by President Hill in that meeting that occurred two years prior.

Q. You said you had been told by President Hill to submit expenses such as that?

A. When there were questionable expenses that might have gone either way, that the way they should go is to have the College take care of them because he didn't want, in his own words, Gerry to be out any money.

Faye Explains Expense Discrepancies

Q. Now, how do you explain the discrepancy in the two? (Expense reports produced as examples).

A. Mr. Condit, I could explain it---Mr. Condit, I could explain, I mean to say, that there certainly can be errors in my expense account for the year. I would make no statement obviously if there aren't. I would say ten percent errors in a particular given year. One makes these up the month after they are done, you do it on your own receipts, you try to go back to your calendar to ascertain what occurred, you---April is the busiest

month that we have, that I have, because of the legislative functions, it is graduation month, it is budget month, there are many reasons why there can be errors.

Meal Expenses For Co-Workers

Q. Now, I note a reference to November 3, 1971. Could you tell us what that reference is?

A. This says "Meating Place" (a restaurant); it says Monarch in parentheses.

Q. It's a person?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. All right. Was that College business.

A. Yes, it was.

Q. What was discussed? If you know?

A. No. I don't know.

Q. Well, let me go back. On November 3rd you state that you went to the "Meating Place" and you spent $17.40, but you can't remember what the College business was. Is that correct?

A. No, it isn't in a sense, Mr. Condit. You are asking me if I can tell you the subject of the conversation of College business. I can tell you that on November 3rd I apparently was working that evening and the Monarch person happens to be a secretary to me and it is not an unusual item when one takes one's secretary out to dinner when they both are working that evening on College business.

Difficulties Remembering Details on Expenses

Q. Who was present then on January 25, 1971?

A. Mr. Condit, you know, you can ask me last week and I probably can't tell you who I had dinner with. I don't---these things (expense receipts) don't always reflect the people. Sometimes they are units and there was no specific requirement that it reflect one or the other.

At that particular month I handed any one in, if that was questioned, then while it was current, I was able to tell Mr. Nikkel whether it was correct.

Impatience of The Court

Mr. Egnor: Your Honor, I think these questions have been asked and answered at least twice.

The Court: The Court thinks they have also. I don't think we will ever finish this case at the rate we are going. I am not saying this in criticism of anyone, but it just keeps going on ad infinitum. The Court has heard a great deal of this and I know about which way I am going on it.

Faye Explains Revised Expense Records

A. I was called in and asked by Mr. Nikkel whether or not I was submitting that (revision) in lieu of other expenditures or in addition to the other expenditures.

I pointed out to Mr. Nikkel that I had made both expenditures but that there was a---that I was submitting this one so that the Board would look at it and if they wanted to slap my hand and say you shouldn't contribute to legislative dinners, then they would have the opportunity to do so.

Q. That was your motive, you say?

A. That's what I suggested at that time to Vice-President Nikkel.

A Return to the Memory Issue

Q. Mr. Faye, during the course of the cross-examination there were a number of meetings at which you were unable to recall who was present at those particular meetings. Could you tell us how you account for your inability to recall that, if there is a reason?

A. Well, the months of March and April, in particular, were very difficult months in terms of meetings almost every single night of the week, every single day that I wasn't meeting in College budget council, I was up in Lansing, I was coming home to the campus that evening, more often than not I had a meeting with one or two of the administrators to find out what had occurred that day. And I think that is---my hunch would be that probably out of twenty working days, I had been out twenty different times during that particular time period, and whatever meetings might have occurred during that particular time were probably only one third or one fourth of the total meetings I had during that particular month.

Q. (By Mr. Condit) Your testimony is today that your memory doesn't serve you as to the same months, the same year, as to your liaison expenses; is that your testimony?

A. My testimony is that there are a number of things that I don't remember and the reason I don't remember is because I was very busy. I'm not so sure that those were exactly full memory items or not full memory items.

After six days of hearings spread over three weeks, the Oakland PRESS blazoned on October 4, "Judge Orders Faye Reinstated as OCC Provost" and in an 11-page opinion Judge Keith reached these conclusions which may be seen as an exemplary explication of some of the rights and responsibilities of people in a democracy. The Keith statement from the bench reads as follows:

Faye's Role as Legislative Liaison

One of the unusual aspects of this particular case, as this Court see it, is the fact that Mr. Faye, as one of four Provosts for the four campuses, had a unique duty or a unique position, to-wit, that he was a legislative liaison person.

During the six days of testimony, the Court has not seen, and the Court believes that the record is devoid of any job description of what duties of a legislative liaison person are. The other three Provosts did not have this designated assignment, but apparently Provost Faye had it. But there was no job description. It was completely innocuous and not defined. The role that he was to play was not defined. This Court finds it difficult to wonder ho one is to act, how one is to perform one's function when there is no specificity connected with this position as legislative liaison; and perhaps this is one of the reasons there has been so much ambiguity and so much uncertainty relating to and surrounding the job that the Provost was to perform.

President's Responsibility to Monitor Expenses

Dr. Hill further stated that he did not inspect the vouchers more closely because he assumed that they were proper and the Court believes that Dr. Hill was acting in good faith. But the Court has to conclude that Dr. Hill did not fully exercise the authority vested in him to inspect the vouchers and demand an accounting, and at this juncture can not for that reason abdicate his responsibility for signing them.

Faye's Right of Tenure

The Court believes from these six days of testimony that Professor Faye took this position as acting Provost and then as Provost with the tacit understanding that he would not lose his tenure as a professor. I think that one would have to be naive to believe that to receive a promotion in an institution of higher learning, one would have to forfeit all of the rights that one had accumulated by satisfactory performance prior to the promotion if they thought they were going to forfeit all of their rights---they would forfeit the right to promotion and just be content with the security that one has by performing satisfactorily and doing what was proper.

Strength of Faye's Argument

So the Court can say that the likelihood of the plaintiff prevailing at the time of full trial in this matter is very likely.

The Right of Due Process

In conclusion, this Court would like to say that it is basic and fundamental to our way of like that due process be afforded people who are in positions of public trust, who by profession or calling are in leadership positions in teaching our young people. I understand that Oakland Community College has a student body of over fourteen thousand people. This Court finds it difficult to believe that one could teach political science, about due process and democracy, fair, full and complete hearing, that when we teach our children and our students all of these basic fundamental constitutional rights, and then an institution that is charged with this responsibility denies these rights to one of its own...it is the duty of the Court, as this Court sees it,indeed, its obligation, to see that we search for the truth and that these principles that we hold so dear are not emasculated for any reason.

Based on these judgments, Judge Keith ordered Faye's reinstatement with back pay, and, in addition, ruled the following:

- The Board must hold a full hearing on the alleged expense account irregularities that caused the dismissal.
- Faye must be accorded "all rights, duties, and benefits to which he is entitled" as a Provost.
- He must be paid equal to the other campus Provosts.

- The College officials must "refrain from making derogatory comments" about Faye to future or prospective employers.

- Court costs and attorney fees must be paid by the College.

Expressing gratitude for "a legal system that allows this to occur," Faye was welcomed back to Highland by a demonstration of support to which he commented: "I'm not concerned about what will happen at a hearing. I don't think the Board will pursue their efforts to remove me from the school." To forestall such Board action, he campus Behavioral Sciences staff submitted a strong statement of support for their Provost:

> Moreover, we deplore the secrecy and lack of due process which has obscured public understanding of the contract controversy concerning Gerald Faye's status at this time. As instructors of the discipline of social science, we find it difficult to face our students without a better explanation of this public controversy to answer questions posed by students.
>
> The Board of Trustees has placed us in a very embarrassing situation where we are to teach about freedom and due process in an environment apparently devoid of these mainstays of our American Political System.

In the midst of Board deliberations on future actions, lawyers proceeded to make big bucks and to pass correspondence at taxpayers' expense: Ronald Egnor, Faye's attorney, submitted a bill for $10.366.13 and in a closing line said, "Notwithstanding the personal pleasure I get out of continued litigation, I think we should settle."

Faye's campus and union support and optimism went for naught as the President and the Board winked at the judge's order thus forcing a contempt charge to be filed on December 26.

Alleging that the College had violated the provisions of Faye's reinstatement, Egnor claimed that "veiled threats, bordering on extortion" had been used by the administration in pressuring Faye to acquiesce to their wishes. Hearing dates were set and then postponed on two separate occasions. In the meantime, a State auditor's report reprimanded the College for sloppy fiscal management, and in an addendum reported that "all expense claims of Provost Gerald Faye were backed up by vouchers." Issued during the first week of January, 1973, the report encouraged the Faye legal team which awaited a hearing, believing that if the Board fired him again, chances of success on appeal to Judge Keith's court were excellent. On January 22, the College attorney informed Trustee Henderson that Egnor had requested a private meeting with

the Board, Faye, and lawyers with "the purpose of discussing a possible resolution with the understanding that each person would be sworn to secrecy, and that there would be no later disclosure of any of the discussions." Desiring an end to the case, Egnor had also suggested binding arbitration as a solution. Without responding to this proposed compromise, the Board scheduled a public hearing for February 19 and levied new charges against Faye:

- Falsifying his expense reports to receive $290 in College funds.

- Falsifying his expense reports to receive $227 in College funds for contributions he was making to State political groups.

- A 10-day unexcused absence from his duties last Summer.

Although struggling to retain his Provost spot, Faye was fighting to ensure his right to revert to the professorial position he had vacated in 1969. New charges by the Board emphasized that he would be "terminated of your employment" by the College. While this was in process, Hill was finding teaching positions for other administrators in his staff reduction plan. This action was condemned by OCCFA because the reassigned staff got top academic ranks and overload teaching assignments.

Whatever worries Faye had about his future at OCC proved unnecessary as an out-of-court settlement was reached before the scheduled public hearing. Charges by the College against Faye were dropped with his agreement to repay $250 in expense money. Judge Keith issued a final court order with these elements:

1. The President is free to select a Provost, including or someone other than Mr. Faye, at the end of the present term on April 30, 1973.

2. Mr. Faye is entitled to a return to faculty status at the top of the full professorial rank at the Orchard Ridge Campus after completion of his duties as Provost.

3. Mr. Faye may take a sabbatical leave effective the end of of this school semester, lasting through the end of the Fall school semester at the full rate of pay for the position defined in point 2 above. Sabbatical shall terminate without repayment if and when Mr. Faye commences full-time employment elsewhere.

4. The present litigation is dismissed with prejudice, and the charges filed by the Board of the College are dismissed with prejudice.

5. Any amounts the parties deem to have been political contributions will be adjusted by mutual agreement.

6. The College shall pay reasonable attorneys' fees to counsel for Mr. Faye as determined by the Court.

As if giving a different perspective to the settlement, the Board in other actions gave a five-year contract extension to Hill, with three-year pacts for Vice-Presidents Nunney and Nikkel, and approved a $204 payment to Trustee Anderson for reimbursement of his expenses as the College's new legislative lobbyist.

The settlement left two major issues undetermined:

- Did Faye misspend the expense account funds? Although he denied doing so, the Board allegations said that false entries did exist.

- Why was he fired? According to the Provost-now-Professor, "All that talk about misusing funds; do you think they'd try to fire me for $300? President Hill knew everything I was doing and had approved of my lobbyist activities. I think I did a good job."

Showing no ill will, the President wrote Faye a glowing, two-page letter recommending him "as a worthy candidate for the presidency of an institution of higher education."

Before riding off in the sabbatical sunset, Faye saw his name appear in two remaining headlines: one noted that the college paid another $14,497 to his attorney, and the other questioned his being paid extra money to teach while on leave. In September, 1973, Trustee Anderson "blasted College officials" for hiring Faye to teach a class in violation of personnel policy. With a circuitous rationale, Hill acknowledged bending the rules to accommodate campus needs for experienced instructors: "We have violated the policy several times in the past, including Faye himself when he headed the Highland Lakes campus."

Unlike most professors who become administrators, Gerald Faye had to resort to Federal Court to become a professor once again, with the complete story remaining untold. Board members would not comment beyond the official record and other administrators refused to elaborate on the idiosyncracies of personalities involved. Considering all available documents, it is difficult to believe that College attorneys would have been so inept that they would have failed to give the Board good advice. Citizens could easily argue that the thousands of dollars paid in legal fees was an irresponsible use of tax dollars, and Faye's charge that certain opponents "had axes to grind" appears logical. What was missing

in this complicated milieu of administrator-Board intrigue was the element of basic trust, and, recalling the opening quotation of this chapter, a little common sense on the part of the President and the Trustees could have saved money and prevented reams of bad publicity for the institution.

Not only is the Gerald Faye Case an important victory for the due process principle, it is a "Super Bowl" win for all college and university administrators who may be treated unjustly by unethical presidents and capricious governing boards. Because of Faye, administrators can all breathe a little easier, and those faculty who choose the administrative route can do so with some assurance of being able to one day retrace their steps back to the faculty.

POSTSCRIPT: As a strong indication that hurt feelings linger for a long time, consider this later development: in the Spring of 1987, Faye applied for the Academic Dean's position at Orchard, was recommended by his faculty colleagues, endorsed by the campus President, and the College's new Chancellor, but in a "take-that response," the Board of Trustees rejected the recommendation. Faye continues to serve as a professor of political science and as an officer in the faculty union.

12

Faculty Power and the Anatomy of a Strike

"...searching in the sun for another overload."
Glenn Campbell

True leadership must be for the benefit of the followers.... In combat, officers eat last.
Robert Townsend

If an educator is working in dark places, shouldn't an administrator pay the electric bill?
Anonymous

The picket lines began to form at 6:30 A.M. on September 10, 1971. Faculty members with tools of their trade had fashioned handmade signs with magic markers and poster board to declare "On Strike." To the passing traffic the angry catcalls, grimaces, and sullen expressions of the picketers signalled elements of dissatisfaction and upset. Above the bravado of typical union tactics rose an aura of being out of place. The subtleties of action also evidenced a sense of being out of character. The unspoken question represented by the majority of sign wavers was: What in the world am I doing here?"

The multiple roles of professors take them to the nooks and cranies of exotic places in the pursuit of esoteric knowledge but seldom to the streetcorners of public protest. In the 60s and 70s strike actions by teaching faculties at community colleges were, indeed rare actions, but in September, 1971 the impasse and bold response had descended on Oakland Community College. What were the events leading to this crisis and why could it not have been avoided?

Sweeping across a traditionally untouched terrain, the winds of unionism gained momentum in the 1960s as more and more professors opted to join the proletariat. By 1970, ten percent of the professional employees of colleges and universities were covered by union contracts, and five years later, there were 394 institutions possessing 101,800 unionized professors. While the general public thought this was radical action, those familiar with the history of the scholarly class saw it differently. From the dawn of group behavior, those who possessed knowledge were accorded honors by the masses. With powers of calculation, prediction, and

judgment, and with the appearance of the written word, schools became places of influence and status. By the Middle Ages, reigning monarchs allowed these scholarly guilds (universitas) the right to strike when molested by the "town" side of town vs. gown. Following the execution of two professors by townspeople in 1209, the faculty at Oxford countered with a suspendium clericorum, a cessation of classes and a relocation to other places, including Cambridge.

From that time, the exercise of group force was not only a method of the masses but of other specialized collectivities also. Gradually, attempting to resolve differences between parties, the concept of collective bargaining---a method by which organized employees and the leaders of organizations effect agreement on conditions of employment---evolved. Of great import to the bargaining process was the specificity of provisions affecting hours, wages, and other conditions of work. It was recommended that discussions take place in a climate of "good faith" so that neither party would be encouraged to resort to more drastic action. Even though collective negotiations is a recently coined concept, teacher associations date back to 1857 with the formation of the National Education Association (NEA), followed in 1916 by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), and the more militant American Federation of Teachers (AFT) a year later. Between 1962 and 1971, the AFT multiplied its membership from less than 60,000 to more than 250,000.

While coming late to the higher education game, it was the burgeoning community colleges that gave the greatest thrust collective bargaining in higher education, taking advantage of enabling legislation that had been passed in 24 states. Though peaceful at first, collective negotiations sometimes created a fragile world of group inter-play aimed ultimately at resolution. Researchers Harold Prasow and Carl Peters explain it this way:

> No one had been able to come up with a more workable solution for disputes (than collective bargaining) which rely on the good sense of the parties not to make waves

> which will upset the boat. There are no really satisfactory solutions in a free society, but only some solutions which are less objectionable than others.

Over time, certain organizations began to be seen as unions with the existence of three general conditions: 1) the assumption of conflict between employees and those who administer, 2) the acceptance by the employees of an entity that would be their exclusive representative vis-a-vis management, and 3) a willingness to protect the individual or small group even if they are a minority. What seemed to be working in the larger society of labor vs. management had finally come to academia. It had come at about the same time that reformers were calling for shared governance; educator Morris Keeton explained this movement as an attempt to share campus authority by enfranchising faculty, students, staff, and under-represented elements of the public at all community colleges. Because most of the country was not unionized, his ideas were peripheral to the institutionalized collective negotiations process permitted by law in certain states.

The Union Comes to Oakland

With the passage of the Hutchinson Act (Public Act 379) in 1965, Michigan became one of the first states to authorize collective bargaining by public employees, and by 1970 virtually all K-12 school districts had negotiated master labor agreements. College teachers moved at varying rates to take advantage of the new law; most two-year institutions created bargaining units but it wasn't until 1969 that Central Michigan University became the first four-year college to unionize. Destined to have bargaining agreements with five different employee groups, Oakland's administration did little to stem the tide of inevitable unionization. President Tirrell had referred to the new faculty as a "Tiffany group, a gifted group, solid in both preparation and experience, as well as in their dedication," and then proceeded to impose a seldom-used 40-hour work week requirement, well beyond the norm for colleges and universities. This heavy load was slightly modified after the first year as indicated in the Executive Staff minutes:

> It was understood, however, that each faculty member would ge assigned a minimum 33 hours on the campus and, in addition, would be expected to spend a minimum of seven hours in professional growth and development. The adher-ence to the schedule and evidence of growth and develop-ment would be carefully evaluated in the annual performance evaluation.

In the spring of 1965 Tirrell hoped that the new staff would not include "too many people with teachers' union experience," but those who the did organized by the end of the first semester. The College attorney informed the dismayed President Tirrell that the new, unaffiliated group would be called the "OCC Faculty Association." The College which had set so many "firsts" records thus became the first with an officially-recognized college faculty union in the state.

People who had been attracted by high salaries and new approaches began to abandon ship with nearly a third of the original OCC staff not returning each of the first two years. Major complaints were expressed by the tutors and the "master teachers," the latter unhappy with assignment they considered worse that those found at lesser universities. Prior to the OCCFA contract ratified on May 12, 1966, Tirrell had worked with a Representative Faculty Advisory Council and a Professional Standards Committee, neither group having much influence on final administrative and academic decisions. Under the new union contract, each campus faculty elected five members to serve as chairman, delegates (2) and bargainers (2), with this configuration repeated as new campuses opened. Those chosen comprised a College-wide Executive Council which elected a Chair and a chief bargainer.

In addition to writing contract provisions affecting working conditions (i.e., in relation to the experimental approach), salary issues held center stage because some new staff were hired at levels higher than experienced instructors. While Tirrell was trying to resolve these inequities, the College's first strike hit: members of the maintenance staff, affiliated with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, refused to work. In a memo to all faculty and staff, Tirrell claimed that further negotiations would not be resumed until the custodians "resumed their duties since, under existing laws, this strike may be illegal." His hope for legal intervention never materialized, but his behavior set a pattern that would be repeated by other administrators: when impasses in bargaining occur, threaten staff with notification that work stoppages are not permitted under state law.

In describing the early days of bargaining, Dean Stuart reported that the needed cooperative spirit even extended to the Board of Trustees with Chairman Mosher commenting at a later time:

> We want to have good feelings between the Board and the faculty. We should get the facts and find out where we stand because we don't want to feel bound by the contract but yet we don't want to renegotiate the whole thing either.

Despite this stated spirit, however, Stuart was unable to determine if the four percent "Christmas bonus" given to all faculty and staff in 1967 was intended to weaken unity within the OCC unions. His study of the College's first serious bargaining with OCCFA concluded with a one-year contract in June, 1968, after nine months of talks during which neither party broke off negotiations or sought outside assistance. Economic aspects of the pact were never a factor because the College had carried forward a surplus of $2 million since 1964.

Since Tirrell resigned in mid-1968, President Hill was responsible for working with the faculty union during the bulk of this 1965-75 decade. Inheriting a condition of increasing militancy on the part of OCCFA, Hill failed to secure good labor law advice and, in his urgency to see the beloved Educational Sciences succeed, he was willing to make numerous concessions to the union. On April 12, 1968, the Board minutes show that "Faculty Negotiations" were discussed with the suggestion "that a full-time top labor relations man be employed." In addition, the possibility of a faculty strike was raised:

> If they would be unreasonable on course load, on who runs the College, on salaries, are you preparing yourselves to accept the fact that the College will not open in the Fall? Trustee Mosher said he would expect it, but the negotiating team is more optimistic.

Predictions of the team proved accurate as no strike occurred, nor did the administration ever act on the suggestion for outside labor expertise. Although the work week was not defined in the early contracts, it was a primary issue in numerous bargaining sessions. One tenured faculty member explained the coup pulled off by OCCFA: "When the College opened, we worked 50-60 hours per week, and then we unionized." An early report (October 1966) from OCCFA's bargainers informed the membership that since the 33-hour week was not written in ink, a 27-hour week was being demanded with a goal of 20 hours preferred. Although held in abeyance at that time, reductions of hours would be the piece de resistance of future contracts. As the College moved toward a traditional lecture-discussion mode, with Hill tugging faculty on sidetracks to "burst," PEP, and cognitive style placement, the senior institution model became the magnet. Recommendations of the AAUP called for teaching only three classes a semester, thus permitting time for writing and research activities.* This recommendation for two-year college professors was considered spurious since faculty there was

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* In 1987, York College's President Robert Iosue argued that few faculty at universities do much significant writing or research when data are closely analyzed.

hired solely to teach. However, Hill found a legitimate need to correct faculty placement on the salary scale to encourage people to stay at OCC. As of April, 1968, this was the staff profile:

Rank	No.	Percent
Professor	0	0
Assoc. Prof.	11	15
Asst. Prof.	21	28
Instructor	28	37
Assoc. Inst.	15	20

Tenure at OCC	No.	Percent
One Year	15	17
Two Years	24	28
Three Years	47	55

Elimination of the Associate Instructor level occurred when the master's degree was made the minimum requirement (except for some technical program faculty). Leaves were granted for staff to do graduate work to meet these minimums, and promotions eventually filled some of the upper ranks. Union bargainer Rod Chase explained that the ranking system was eliminated altogether after Hill awarded double promotions and triple increments to faculty assisting in the PEP project. Each bargaining period was designed by the union to enhance the salary and benefits of the membership which making inroads into administrative prerogatives for managing the institution. By the Fall of 1967 the work week for teaching faculty had been reduced to 20 hours and to 37 hours for counselors and librarians. Two years later professors would teach 12 hours and be required to put in four hours in "professional activities," while the work week for non-teaching faculty would be 35 hours. Subsequent contracts would reduce this latter figure to 30 hours, and the teaching requirement would become 12 hours and 4 "office" hours per week. As salaries rose, OCCFA moved quickly to dispute the canard that said, "OCC faculty are the highest paid in the State," by giving these specifics:

1. Salary schedules published by the AAUP are based on a nine month teaching year. Such a year includes two sessions.

2. Our schedule is based on a ten-month teaching year consisting of three sessions.

3. If we reduce our salary by 25 percent to make the comparison honest, OCC's schedule would rank nearly last in the State (about 26th out of 27 two-year colleges, depending on other variables).

4. In addition, our faculty live in one of the richest areas in the nation, and, of course, suffers one of the highest cost of living; considerably higher than Bay de Noc College in the Upper Peninsula.

What caused salary figures to balloon during the Hill years was the attractive overload provisions that were written into the faculty contract. Professors willing to teach extra classes or put in additional hours were paid in the form of overtime (i.e.,overload). It ultimately became possible for a professor to make 75 percent beyond his regular annual salary. The evolution of the overlaod concept proved both the President and the OCCFA bargainers wrong in their judgments on what impact it would eventually have on their colleagues. According to Stuart, Hill said overload would save the College huge sums because few additional faculty would be hired and therefore fringe benefits, office space, telephone costs, etc., would not increase. State legislators were told that the College "would get another half person out of every full-time professor who would teach 75 percent of the student credit hours, with the remainder taught by adjunct faculty.: OCCFA displayed some naivete in its position that "we'll make overload so expensive to the College that they won't force it on us." A faculty which had always had an opportunity to be paid overtime found it almost impossible to say "NO" to the new overload rates. After fighting for several years to reduce their work week, some professor now worked twice their required hours and more. Within a short time, over 90 percent of the faculty would be paid some portion of the overload budget during an academic year. Those willing to teach year-round could earn more that the deans, provosts, and vice-presidents as they moved ahead of the inflation rate, cost-of-living increases, and most of their neighbors in "one of the richest counties in the nation." Within time the nirvana of overload would take a toll on tired faculty who were experiencing professional "burn-out" somewhat sooner than their counterparts at other colleges.

Countdown to the Strike

A year before the picket signs went up there were strong intimations that things were not well at OCC. Grievances by faculty had become commonplace under the Hill regime with some reaching the Board level and, for the first time, a few even going to arbitration. The 1970-71 academic year began with a budget cut of 12 faculty positions while the President was adding staff to the Foundational Studies experiment. An expected shrill of opposition came from OCCFA leaders and, on May 28, the Detroit NEWS headlined "OCC Future Troubled": as the hints of discord became more pronounced. Staff were upset because final North Central accreditation was delayed by "top heavy administration" and (according to the accreditors) "confusion" over the educational direction of the College. The union charged that some instructors were forced into the Hill-Nunney innovations under the threat of being fired. Although never confirmed, such allegations

contributed to an environment of distrust with a bargaining impasse and a charge of unfair labor practices being filed by the union. Following unsuccessful mediation, OCCFA went to court in June to seek an injunction to ensure that the College would open for Summer school with guarantees of first-choice employment for its membership. So that students could be accommodated, the Summer session was held with College staff, and the two bargaining teams continued to meet sporadically. On August 8, the DAILY TRIBUNE noted the serious nature of the talks: "Community College Faculty Threatens Strike Opening Day." At the Board Study session that week the College's chief negotiator reported on the turmoil existing between the parties:

> ...an attitude we've not had before. There was an air of anger that broke out into open hostility at the last meeting. There may be many reasons; exasperation is one---and they have tried to discredit the Board and the administration.

Wishing for a resolution, the Board approved an additional $500 for each step of the proposed salary schedule. With this in hand, the OCCFA leaders presented a College proposal to the membership on August 17 which was rejected and a "Strike Committee" was approved. With a mediator present, negotiations continued. On September 3, the Board's bargainer, Gerald Bartush, reported to the Board Information Session that because of OCCFA's internal dissension "we spent the whole day playing baby sitter to ourselves." Noting that the faculty resented being told that they must be more "productive" in relation to the number of students taught, Bartush informed the Board that a fact-finder had been appointed and he concluded his report as follows:

> The issues not settled are: 1) the economic package, 2) the Student Credit Hour or load formula, and 3) the number of part-time faculty who could be hired. Today they could not come to any agreement and late in the day rejected any of the things we proposed earlier. We asked them for a counter-proposal.
>
> We had dinner with the mediator and he indicated that he does not feel that anything can be solved at this point. He recommends that we meet with the fact-finder a week from Saturday. The faculty would agree to start work Tuesday and work till the report is issued and we should agree to go retroactive on decisions.

We have two major things to consider: settle the master labor agreement and opening the school. We sent out the contracts last weekend---some of them have been returned but

> most of them have been collected by the faculty association. The question is, how do we open school if we do not have a contract. The mediator said they are not ready to settle now but if we put our best foot forward, they might buy it but he does not think so. He can be fallible, too, so we do not know.

On Labor Day the revised Board proposal was presented to the faculty where it was rejected.

Dissatisfied with developments, the faculty elected a new bargaining team with the direction that a strike be avoided. Because of the press of opening day, the new team recommended that professors return for the Fall semester until agreement was possible. An October 26 memo from Richard Smith on behalf of the OCCFA Council to Trustee Johnson indicated that the desired resolution surpassed salary concerns on the part of the membership. It read, in part:

> The history of OCC has shown constant pressure from our various administrations to impose the educational gimmickry of the President of the College on our teaching methodology and content. We are frankly very worried sometime in the near future we will all be confronted with the choice of teaching Dr. Hill's way or leaving.
>
> In summary, while Dr. Hill has somewhat characteristically told our bargainers that he is "wearing a crown of thorns around the State for giving OCC away to the faculty," we do not feel that our requests are in any way unreasonable.

Although these criticisms went unchallenged, the bargaining teams compromised enough for agreement to be reached by the end of October and a new one-year contract was signed. For the moment, at least, a major conflict had been avoided.

Evidence of an impending crisis in 1971 surfaced as early as February when the ink on the new pact had hardly dried. OCCFA had always complained that the College used a smoke screen of imminent fiscal doom in the months prior to the onset of negotiations. The February 10, union newsletter asked "Where Has All the Money Gone?" with the notification that the College was already claiming a debt of $850,000. Accompanied by a cartoon showing a seated administrator exclaiming, "Yes, we are in debt, but after negotiations, we'll be back in the black," the union writer decried the use of voodoo economics to show that little money was available for salary increases. This perception, coupled with a recalcitrant position of fiscal retrenchment by the Board of Trustees, helped set the stage for bloody battles at the bargaining table. The

Board was saying, in effect, that the shortest line in the world is composed of those who believe they are overpaid. It was also saying that its administrative leadership could do no wrong. On the other hand, the faculty shepherds were also increasingly disgruntled with Hill-Nunney models and became more vocal in their opposition. They argued that the "divine right of kings" leadership heritage spoke for a shallow belief that only the "right" kind of people were qualified to lead by virtue of superior IQ, outstanding personality characteristics, or unique ideas. In the words of one survey respondent,"This is classic bullshit. It was the same spurious argument used for centuries to say that women and minorities aren't qualified for leadership positions." Another faculty member amplified the point: "We saw what happened to the divine-right factor. Community college presidents need to admit that there's over 100,000 educators in the U.S. who could just as effectively fill their spots as they. Presidents need to be reminded that the average tenure in their office is only five years. They come and go but the institution seems to survive."

A social science professor blamed the socialization process, one of his cherished principles, for the system that attempts to create omnicompetent leaders and ends up with occasional charlatans. "This belief about the special qualities of leadership is deeply ingrained in our system," he explained. "Elementary kids are taught that every leader has their best interests at heart; this is reinforced in 9th grade Civics and in 12th grade Government classes across the land. The old maxim 'We get the kind of leaders we deserve' is true at the college level. Selection committees must see through the veneer of 'giving the right answers' to the possible hidden agendas of administrators before the hiring interview is completed. This obviously has not happened around OCC for some time." It was generally agreed that these barbs were intended not only for Hill but for his cabal of administrative manipulators as well.

Approaching collective bargaining with this mindset did not augur well for quick settlement on diverse issues at the table. One optimistic goal was set by Professor Al Varone who challenged both sides to sit down and negotiate "a loving contract." Despite newsletter statements to the contrary, OCCFA went to the proceedings with a cooperative attitude and hope in avoiding a repeat of the problems of 1970. They announced on June 8 that only minor contractual changes would be sought along with a minimal salary increase---$500 at the base position, "less than the cost-

of-living percent" that year, plus one increment for each faculty member. Clouds of discord quickly formed, however, as the administration rejected this proposal on grounds that the monetary request was excessive. Without comment, that week's PRESIDENTIAL NEWSLETTER from Dr. Hill announced that "bargaining was proceeding on a regularly scheduled basis on the contract which expires August 31." It also listed bargaining team members from each location:

Auburn Hills: Keith Wittenstrom and Henry Gram
Highland Lakes: Ron Spainhour and Al Bogucki
Orchard Ridge: Rod Chase and Jack Inch
Central Office: Jim Dotseth and Tom Ervin

Discussions had begun in April with significant progress achieved on non-economic parts of the agreement. It was rare for these elements of the contract---emphasizing working conditions, the union's role in the instructional process, evaluation, the appeals network, and the like---to become controversial enough to cause a work stoppage. Economic portions of the contract were almost always the bone of contention and for the OCC budget, any percentage rise in faculty benefits had a dramatic effect, because instructional costs amounted to 70 percent of the total budget. Anticipating complications, the teams began discussing money issues on August 1, hoping that a month's deliberations would unravel all possible snags. Progress was being made until August 15 when a bombshell from outside the College hit in the form of a wage freeze. As a result of mounting inflation, President Nixon established a halt to wage and price increases in what was to be a temporary measure. Uncertainty dominated the OCC talks as guidelines were awaited from governmental agencies. With a 98-page non-economic package in place and disagreement on what the "freeze" meant, the OCCFA team decided to go on vacation even though the opening day of classes was fast approaching. Returning to the settlement task on September 2, the teams in an 11-hour session worked through the remaining paragraphs and statistical tables, and agreed on language that said in part "any section of this agreement affected by the Federal wage-price freeze may be reconsidered at the request of either party."

According to the union's chief negotiator, Rod Chase, a settlement had been reached on all unresolved details, but when President Hill took the package to the Trustees it was turned down on grounds that State aid amounts were uncertain as were interpretations of Nixon's freeze (scheduled to expire in November). Believing that a legitimate agreement had been reached, OCCFA filed an unfair labor practices suit with the State Employment Relations Board charging the College with failing to bargain in good faith. Without a new contract, the 300-plus full-time professors and the expected 17,000 students attended the first

two days of classes before OCCFA acted on its "no contract-no work" threat and early morning pickets appeared at campus entrances and in front of the College's central office. To justify its action the union distributed flyers giving the faculty positions while urging a possible rapprochement:

> On Thursday, September 2, the bargaining teams for the faculty and the administration reached agreement on a 1971-72 contract. Monday night the Faculty voted unanimously to accept the contract: to date, however, the Board had refused to accept the agreement bargained on their behalf. Therefore, the teachers have determined that they will not continue to work without a contract.
>
> The negotiated agreement calls for no new powers of major significance for the faculty, nor is there any demand for a wage increase during the "freeze." There is no provision for retroactive pay after the freeze. The salaries to be paid after the freeze will never compensate for losses due to cost-of-living increases and money lost during Nixon's suspension of wage increases.
>
> In spite of the meager gains included for the faculty, the Board hasn't ratified. The teachers do not understand this position. We bargained in good faith. We sought no major change in salary, actually to be paid, or in the distribution of power. We are struggling then to preserve the integrity of the collective bargaining process. Agreement was reached. No reason is offered as to why it cannot be implemented. We have to resist any such attack on our rights as employees.

In retaliation to the strike, the Board of Trustees obtained a temporary restraining order to force professors back to their classrooms, and in a legal faux pas, Judge William Beer's written command was for "all" striking faculty to appear before him in court, rather than just the OCCFA leadership. Over 200 professors attempted to squeeze into the Oakland County Courthouse chambers before they were excused in lieu of their bargainers. Considering the strike an illegal action, the Board hoped for a quick victory but was unhappy to learn that Michigan law bans strikes by public workers but sets no penalties for violators. A 1947 law required public agencies to fire strikers and bar them from other municipal employment but the 1965 Legislative amendment authorized union membership with bargaining rights. In addition, it retained the prohibition against strikes but eliminated the provision for mandatory firing of strikers.

During the week of the Oakland strike (September 13-17)

administrators attempted to keep the College open as late registration was continuing in efforts to maximize admissions despite the walkout. While levels of acrimony rose as both sides defended their actions to complaining students and parents, a sign appeared in the faculty offices declaring, "the floggings will continue until morale improves." Music and literature faculty were inspired to put strike issues to rhyme and some in a doggerel vein:

(Sung to the tune "Casey Would Walk with the Strawberry Blonde")

Joe Hill lied to our negotiating team
While the Board played on.
They'd promise on the floor
What they'd later ignore
While the Board played on.
With treasury so loaded it nearly exploded
They shafted us---not in the arm.
We're under compunction, another injunction,
But still the Board plays on.

(Sung to the tune "Take Me Out to the Ball Game")

Get me out of this court room
Get me away from this crowd.
Don't give me more B.S. 'bout students,' Jack
If I hear one more than I'll never go back.
How they root, root, root with our money
The figures they use are a shame,
Judge says, "One, two, three strikes---You're out."
When it's the old Board's game.

(Sung to the tune "There's a Long, Long Trail Awinding")

There's a long, long trail awinding
When you're walking it on strike.
TV cameras push in closer, "Please speak clearly in this mike."
There were long, long days of waiting
That promised pay checks would come true.
But instead of princely salaries,
We just got the royal screw.

Not to be outdone by the faculty, one student addressed an open letter to all involved parties---Board, faculty, and administrators:

> Last year you decried the bombing of one of your buildings on the Orchard campus. This Fall you find yourselves in a strike condition. Which of these two

> occasions do you deem more damaging to education? Which instruments, those of the chemistry lab or those of the human psyche, do you find more sensitive; which are of the greater value to you? Finally, which of these two occasions have you the most control in ? Are you indeed earnest in your educational philosophy?

Realizing that their opinions were secondary to the staunch positions of the union and the Board, students and parents succumbed to the reality that the impasse would continue until judges intervened. Because Michigan is a heavily unionized state, authorities were reluctant to take drastic action unless convinced that the safety of the public was endangered. And, with both sides assuming intractable stances, relations deteriorated to the point of verbal fratricide. Maintaining that the College had failed to bargain in "good faith," OCCFA fought the court order to return to class; court-enforced bargaining and hearings continued until September 15 when the Board returned to Circuit Court for an injunction.

Testimony covering two days found the union attorney, Bernard Fieger, attempting to prove that the College was suffering no appreciable damage due to the walkout, but failing to convince the judge, Robert Templin. The 150-page transcript hints that Templin had already made his decision by mid-point (page 86) in the proceedings. The transcripts records his remarks:

> THE COURT: Well, the Court just doesn't buy your argument, Mr. Fieger. Certainly the Court is of the opinion there is irreparable harm here whether---although the students are not properly a party, certainly they are harmed more than anyone else. Disregarding that aspect as the Plaintiff is concerned, this Court is satisfied that there is certainly a waste of funds on the part of the Plaintiff maintaining the facilities which are not being used, and money in this Court's opinion which cannot be recovered, and to dismiss the restraining order would be wrong. So you may proceed.

Undismayed, Fieger hammered away on the union's contention that bad faith bargaining had dominated the struggle for compromise on differences. In cross-examination, negotiator Chase explained the events in this manner:

Q. All right, now what happened on September 2nd, starting at the beginning.

A. We were presented with the document in the spiral binding (the College version of the contract). And again, as we started through this document we realized that it wasn't what we had agreed upon on the 19th of August. There were a number of

articles that had been changed, actually changed in the document from what we had agreed upon and then other articles had been left out completely, or---I guess I shouldn't say that--not left out completely. The articles that we had agreed to leave out completely were in the document in the old form.

Q. And you pointed this out to Mr. Dotseth (College negotiator), did you not?

A. Yes, so we then spent again a good portion of the day on the second again correcting the document that was presented to us.

Q. Did he explain why this kept occurring?

A. Well, on the articles that had been changed and why some things had been put in he said that this was done on advice of their counsel because they construed them to have some economic reaches, some economic meaning, therefore that they simply could not agree to put those into the contract at this time.

(The Court transcript then includes an interlude of questions covering offers and counteroffers on the part of the union and the College.)

Q. What was the next offer?

A. Their offer was still the $200 on the base, $200 on each step and an increment. We countered with $400 on each step, an increment and a $40-a-month or $400 cost-of-living figure. After that they caucused, came back and countered with $400 on each step and a $250 cost-of-living figure. But for that we would have to give up the one percent longevity pay that was included in the salary article. We went out, caucused, came back and again stated $200 and $400, and as Dr. Nikkel (College Vice-President) stated this morning, they countered with $400 on each step and $300 cost-of-living figure. We said, "Fine, we'll take that."

Q. All right, what then happened when you said, "Fine, you'll take that?"

A. Both sides said,you know, "We have an agreement."

Building a theme on Board rigidity, attorney Fieger then got Ron Spainhour, another OCCFA bargainer, to describe perceptions centering on the union's conclusion that a final settlement had been reached in early September.

Q. You continued that way (working on the language) after you seemed to have the agreement?

A. Everybody knew we had an agreement and Mr. Nikkel stood up and said, "We're done, right? I can leave, right, boss?" and looked at Hill, and he was standing up already and he said, "Are you satisfied?" Something to that effect and we said, "Yeah." So he had a meeting or something to go to and he left at that time and we continued then for the next hour or so....As we are beginning to get up and get out of our chairs, he's (Hill) saying such things as, "You've been a good team, great working with you, it's a good agreement; I think I'll be able to sell this to the Board."

Q. Then what happened?

A. Well, I went home, had a couple of beers, and went to sleep, and said, "Great," you know. And I got up the next morning, went to class because the registration is taking place, went to campus to see how my classes are going...I had heard already that the Board had turned it down---I didn't really have the whole story as to why....Well, finally I got the story that---according to Hill's conversation with Rod (Chase) ---that the Board did not want to put any kind of economic package in the contract whatsoever even their own lawyer's statement stipulated that it was entirely possible to, you know, write a contract including an economic package but not to go into effect until after the freeze, so, you know, we were all wondering what the heck was going on and we were upset obviously, you know; we had worked a long time on that agreement. Everybody thought it was a good one.

Spainhour also explained that the mediator questioned the logic of the College's rationale:

> And we just insisted that, you know, we had an agreement and that what the heck is going on? We have wasted our time and so on, and Wally Nikkel pressed for a mediator and we agreed to the mediator. There was a mediator brought in Wednesday at 4:00 o'clock. The mediator listened to both sides' version of what it was that was going on, he then requested that the Board team leave the room so he could talk with us and as the Board team cleared the door, the door shut, he leaned back and said, you know, "How did the Board manage to get itself into such a stupid position?"

Although the issue was secondary to getting the College reopened, Judge Templin did conclude that "there had been somewhat less than good faith bargaining on the part of the Plaintiffs (the College)."

However, he then decided to grant the injunction:

> The Court: The Court has found during the course of the hearing that there was irreparable injury at least on the part of the Plaintiffs through loss of monies spent in maintaining the facilities and operations which were not being fully utilized by normal school operations.
>
> Also, the Court is of the opinion that irreparable injury has occurred to the students primarily who cannot go to school having paid for same, although they are not a proper party to this case and, parenthetically, the Court feels that the Defendants are being harmed, too, by not being able to occupy and pursue their professional teaching duties.
>
> The Court is going to institute a preliminary injunction effective at 12:01 tomorrow morning which will be effective for two weeks, until September 30th at 12:01 restraining the Defendants from further striking and will under such injunction order that the Defendants return to work under the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement of 1970-71 which will be effective in all respects as if it had not expired.
>
> There will be no reprisals whatsoever by either party in this regard. It is also essential under this injunction that the bargaining be in good faith. In this regard the Court does find, although the hearing is not complete as to all respects, that there has been somewhat less that good faith on the part of the Plaintiffs, at least the breakdown in communications between the Board, the Plaintiffs' Board, and the negotiating team, and, at worse, perhaps a complete lack of good faith bargaining itself. It is essential that bargaining be made in good faith, to resume with a mediator present appointed by the Michigan Employment Relations Commission.
>
> The Court will be apprised of the progress in bargaining and all impasses will be brought before the Court, the Court retaining jurisdiction of the matter until it is resolved.

At the Board meeting that evening Trustee Henderson expressed regret for the events leading to the strike, and stated that the injunction request was not a punitive measure but necessary to provide students with instruction. Having noted the judge's evaluation of the process, the Board directed its team to bargain positively so that an amicable solution could be reached before the end of September.

Talks continued with a state mediator present and periodic reports were submitted as required by the Court, but there was

little progress. Attorneys for both sides met behind closed doors in Judge Templin's chambers to consider whether fact-finding or binding arbitration would help with the impasse, but the Board was reluctant to go either route.

On September 23, the Detroit FREE PRESS announced "Truth Team Formed by Teachers," and quoted bargainer Chase's description of a "truth squad" formed by the union to keep tabs on OCC's President. Accusing Hill of "constantly making false and misleading statements concerning contract negotiations," Chase said the squad, composed of 15 volunteers, would monitor Hill's speeches and make every effort to interrupt with "correct information." In response, the President said he welcomed the attention: "Truth could do nothing to hurt, only to help."

When the two-week injunction expired on September 30, student government officers invited spokespersons from each side to an Orchard rally with over 60-0 students in attendance. OCCFA representatives Richard Smith and Jim Hudson made articulate and poised presentations on the faculty's rationale for actions taken. Trustee Earl Anderson defended the Board, became emotional when attacked, and stormed out of the amphitheater after getting into a shouting match with students. However, he was impressed with the students' sincere efforts to keep the College open and carried this sentiment back to his more reclusive colleagues.

On Sunday, October 3, the faculty voted 179-3 to strike, again explaining that this overwhelming ballot had been caused by Vice-President Nunney surreptitiously calling "his boys" on the faculty to get them to influence the vote away from OCCFA's leadership.

Sunday's tally came on the heels of a union request for the Michigan Attorney General to "order a thorough, independent outside audit of the finances and operations of OCC," in order to clarify for the public "just what is being done with their tax dollars." Claiming that figures appearing in the press did not correctly reflect the high costs of administration and "pet personal projects of high administrators that are draining off the taxpayers' money," OCCFA expressed dismay at the College's refusal to allow fact-finding as part of negotiations. New-found enthusiasm for the union also resulted from its vote to affiliate with the powerful Michigan Education Association and the NEA rather than continue to struggle as an independent. Returning to the picket lines, professors again distributed leaflets detailing their position:

> The teachers would accept a reasonable two-year package, but none was offered. Had the Administration bargained in good faith and had they depended on a fair offer rather than questionable tactics, there would probably be a settlement now. The Trustees need to solve the problems created by their leaders and open the College.

Students and parents in the District decided to take things into their own hand by organizing a recall drive to oust Board members they considered unresponsive. By aiming their recall petitions at Trustee Eugene Johnson and Douglas Collins, and working to unseat Lila Johnson and George Mosher at the next election, the community action group hoped to change the conservative composition of the Board.

Such actions were premature as a settlement was finally reached on October 5 when a proposal submitted by Leo Cadwell, a mediator from the Michigan Employment Relations Commission, was endorsed by the Trustees and OCCFA. A two-year pact calling for a five percent salary increase proved to be a compromise. In the second year of the contract, instructors would receive one increment plus another $100 as an "inflation adjuster." An average faculty member whose 10-month salary under the 1970-71 contract was $15,500 would have his/her annual salary increased by approximately $985 during 1971-72. This amount, however, would be adjusted in accordance with the requirements of the Cost of Living Council guidelines, with the effective date deferred until the lifting of the wage-price freeze. Instructors were required to make up lost class time so that students received a full semester's instruction.

After a long and sometimes bitter struggle it was necessary to write in "no reprisal" language as part of the settlement. It was stated thusly:

> Neither the college Board, the Faculty Association, any member of the faculty, nor any administrator shall engage in, authorize or permit the taking of any sanctions, reprisals, grievances or penalties against the other on account of any matters arising out of the work stoppage which occurred during September and October, 1971.

While a strong majority of the faculty approved the package and returned to work, the Board voted a narrow four to three for ratification. It appeared that any hoped-for healing of wounds would be slow in coming as three Trustees explained their opposition. Trustee Mosher cited W-2 income statistics to substantiate his belief that salary levels were too high and used changed in income for the faculty bargaining team as examples. Figures used for his argument were for 12-month periods and included extra income from overload and Summer compensation:

Hired	Hire-In Salary	9/70-8/71 Salary	Total Salary
Chief Negotiator 9/67	$ 7,763	$ 19,546	$ 22,744
Member of Team 9/69	13,720	24,866	28,836
Member of Team 9/66	7,250	25,424	29,455
Member of Team 9/68	9,840	19,133	22,234
Member of Team 9/65	9,200	25,797	30,136
President OCCFA 9/67	11,075	29,501	34,149

Trustee Johnson pointed out that OCC's faculty salary schedule was the highest in the state and sid that he favored a five percent not a seven and one-half percent increase in salary. The point in the contract that he found most objectionable was the $100 "bonus" in the second year. Trustee Hackett agreed with Mosher's assessment of faculty salaries and said that in an era of high professional unemployment, he favored hiring additional employees instead of permitting faculty to increase their income by carrying overload assignments. These public disclosures omitted references to teaching quality or dedication of the professor to his task, and reinforced a tone of animosity that would linger at the College for the next decade.

The sensitivity of loyal staff who had been embarrassed on picket lines would be overlooked as both sides retained pockets of resentment---"We didn't get enough," vis-a-vis, "We gave away too much." This incendiary climate would be fueled by outside criticism: the Birmingham ECCENTRIC editorialized "Some Seek Education" in describing "hooligan-like tactics" displayed by some OCC professors in getting part-time Extension center instructors to abandon their students and join the picket lines. Information like this filtered back to the Board members where it was not well-received. Efforts were made by OCCFA to re-establish rapport with the College community in a series of monthly meetings involving its Council, administrators, and Board members. In its annual report for 1971-72 the union did express a light-hearted approach to what had been the most dramatic action since its founding in 1966:

> The Governor did not call out the National Guard. The President did not invoke Taft-Hartley. John Homeister, OCCFA president, didn't even go to the Oakland County Jail, a truly unique experience. However, OCCFA did hit the bricks, one and all.

There was hardly anything jocular about the impact of the strikes of 1971 as relationships were hardened, spotlights were put on contract language, and professor/administrator interactions were programmed by "What does the Faculty Master Agreement say?" Possibly with some justification, administrators were approached with suspicion, and public smiles turned to vitriolic jibes and frowns among one's own kind. Faculty would not warm up quickly to a President they considered a liar and clever manipulator, and administrators down the line would be similarly tainted. Undoubtedly, the greatest casualty of the strike was the loss of a sense of community that is difficult enough to establish at a multi-campus institution without the traumatic effects of a work-stoppage.

Faculty members who had nervously constructed flimsy on-strike signs two months earlier could not have imagined that they writing, along with some one-dimensional administrators, the death knell for honest and open relationships at Oakland. In effect, a state of adversarial tension had been created on the bones of cooperation and compromise. Indeed, it would take several years for the stench of opposition to fade away and for an air of trust to ease back to campus again.

EPILOGUE

A PARABLE OF SHORT BASKETS

During one of my brief respites from the administrative wars on campus I traveled to Florida to escape the interminable Michigan winter. As a basketball-crazed, middle-aged male I searched for a playground where the stresses of work could be eliminated in the bump and grind of a 2-on-2 game. After driving around town I finally found an elementary school which had a single regulation 10-foot basket adjacent to two full-courts with eight-foot baskets. The courts were crowded with white, junior and senior high school boys practicing their Julius Erving slam dunks and "in your face" rebounds, both of which were impossible on the nearby 10-foot basket. None of these youngsters were interested in playing a game on the regulation court so I proceeded to shoot by myself. After a brief time, I was joined by two black elementary kids who persisted in shooting at the 10-foot rim although their strength was insufficient and they seldom made a basket. But, still they continued their efforts, never venturing over to the shorter baskets.

As I drove home later I wondered why the short basket episode had reminded me of the community college movement which had been such a dramatic part of my life. Here were young white kids who could fantasize about their black athletic heroes knowing full well that basketball money was not in their futures. Nor did they worry much about the days ahead because as privileged, middle-class majorityites they had innumerable choices. On the other hand, the short black youngsters saw the tall baskets as a possible, but too often elusive avenue to upward mobility thus motivating them to throw the ball with a vengeance at the tall nets.

The analogy continued to become clearer as I drove north. In the history of higher education in America, a few budding two-year colleges had moved beyond the short baskets of tradition and attempted to offer educational services to a vast population of under-served citizens. In a sometimes quixotic manner they had flirted with fame by trying to do things not done by their senior counterparts. In some ways these efforts proved to be a furtive quest for respectability and status in a domain of institutions dominated by prestigious universities which had inherited fame from earlier generations. Still, the quest has had its rewards: innovations attempted laid a foundation for others to succeed. By 1980 over half of all entering students would start their college careers at junior institutions, and many leaders in the movement would be willing to try almost anything that would improve the quality of education for all.

By shooting at tall baskets a large degree of pessimism would be avoided. "Space travel is utter bilge," said the Astronomer Royal of Britain said two years before Sputnik, not realizing that

others would take a more optimistic view. In similar fashion, and with the determination of short black kids, the community colleges would continue to shoot at the tall baskets.

POSTSCRIPT: Thus, the decade characterized by delirium had passed into history. It was a decade with tumultous and chaotic events that many people hoped would not ever be repeated. The decade offered opportunities for students, citizens, and colleges to experiment with social change, to discard the mistakes, and to capitalize on the successes.

Indeed, the 60s and 70s were interesting times, unique in U.S. annals, and for those concerned about learning lessons from history, times to ponder for decades to come.

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